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ABSTRACT

Teachers must be continuously alert to the differences in languages, values, and customs and seek to understand their students as real people. Otherwise the student who must learn English as a second language develops insecurity instead of security. When the acceptable norm in a class has been based on the work of the typical middle-class Anglo, the culturally different student has had failure predetermined for him. Language maturity needs to be assessed in these children in terms of auditory discrimination of all the necessary phonemes, and the habitual use of the correct syntax of grammar. Interaction with the teacher on an individual basis is also crucial for the child. If the child understands sound patterns in English, the beginning instruction should be in English; if he understands Spanish, the instruction should be in Spanish. The second language should be introduced systematically but gradually, to develop genuine bilingualism in the student. The bilingual-bicultural program encompasses all the domains of the learning process. The student should acquire the concepts and skills of two languages, and should attain a positive self-image through the understanding of the value of his own culture. A multicultural program increases the appreciation of the contributions of other cultures, and fosters the democratic ideals. (MBM)

Brief Title:

Bilingual Education for
Multicultural Sensitivity

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THE IMPLICATIONS OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION FOR DEVELOPING MULTICULTURAL SENSITIVITY THROUGH TEACHER EDUCATION

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

FOREWORD iv

ABSTRACT vii

CULTURAL AWARENESS 1
Introduction. 1
Multicultural Values. 1
Ethnocentrism 6
Language in Culture 7
Cultural Universals 9
Summary 9

THE FAILURE OF THE TRADITIONAL SCHOOL IN MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION . .11
Introduction. 11
Historical Evidence of Educational Retardation. 12
Current Unsolved Problems 19
Four Approaches to Second Language Learning 22
Summary 25

THE SOCIOLOGY OF LANGUAGE. 26
Introduction. 26
Language As a Culture Carrier 26
Summary 31

BILINGUAL EDUCATION. 33
What is Bilingual Education?. 33
How Does the Bilingual Education Program Start? 35
Which Language? 40
The School, The Teacher, The Parent 43

TEACHER EDUCATION FOR A MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY. 45
A Point of View 45
Mimimum Essential Education for the Classroom Teacher in a Multicultural Classroom. 48
Modification of the Curriculum. 54
Summary 58

BIBLIOGRAPHY 61

ERIC DESCRIPTORS 68

ORDERING INFORMATION 69

ABOUT ERIC 70

FOREWORD

Many Americans--thinking of America as the "melting pot" and symbolized by a torch welcoming people to the promised land--have been shaken to learn that millions of minority Americans are less than equal in opportunities open to them. Teachers, both preservice and inservice, have an opportunity to become conscious of cultural differences and contributions and then convert their knowledge and appreciation into sound educational practices.

This publication deals with biculturalism, particularly as it relates to bilingualism. The concepts presented are applicable beyond bilingual programs.

We wish to extend our appreciation to Dr. Richard James, Associate Director of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, and the AACTE Commission on Multicultural Education for their contribution to the publication of the paper.

The Clearinghouse will continue to create new and report existing literature on multicultural education. Our closely related Clearinghouse publications at this point include:

American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education. Directory of Multicultural Programs in Teacher Education. Published jointly with AACTE. 1971.
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Burdin, Joel L. Preparing School Personnel for American Indians: Some Exploratory Questions and Responses. 1970. 47p.
ED 045 560. EDRS Price: MF-$0.65; HC-$3.29.

Burdin, Joel L., and Everett D. Edington, eds. School Personnel Preparation for American Indians: Present State and Needed Steps. Published jointly with the ERIC Clearinghouse on Rural Education and Small Schools, 1971. 77p.

Carter, Thomas P. Preparing Teachers for Mexican-American Children. Published jointly with the ERIC Clearinghouse on Rural Education and Small Schools, 1969. 15p.
ED 045 589. EDRS Price: MF-$0.65; HC-$3.29.

Mathieson, Moira B., and Rita M. Tatis. Multicultural Education: A Selected Annotated Bibliography. 1970. 18p.
ED 043 572. EDRS Price: MF-$0.65; HC-$3.29.

Poliakoff, Lorraine. Ethnic Groups: Negroes, Spanish-Speaking, American Indians, and Eskimos - Part 4 of a Bibliographic Series on Meeting Special Educational Needs. 1970. 29p.
ED 044 384. EDRS Price: MF-$0.65; HC-$3.29.

Ross, Marlene. Preparing School Personnel for an Open Society: A Guide to Selected Documents in the ERIC Collection, 1966-1968. 1969. 54p.
ED 028 156. EDRS Price: MF-$0.65; HC-$3.29.

The accompanying bibliography may be updated by checking recent issues of Research in Education (RIE) and Current Index to Journals in Education (CIJE). Both RIE and CIJE use the same descriptors (index terms). Documents in RIE are listed in blocks according to the clearinghouse code letters which processed them, beginning with the ERIC Clearinghouse on Adult Education (AC) and ending with the ERIC Clearinghouse on Vocational and Technical Education (VT). The clearinghouse code letters, which are listed at the beginning of RIE, appear opposite the ED number at the beginning of each entry. "SP" (School Personnel) designates documents processed by the ERIC Clearinghouse on Teacher Education.

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--Joel L. Burdin
Director

September 1971

ABSTRACT

Teachers must be continuously alert to the differences in languages, values, and customs and seek to understand their students as real people. Otherwise the student who must learn English as a second langauge develops insecurity instead of security. When the acceptable norm in a class has been based on the work of the typical middle-class Anglo, the culturally different student has had failure predetermined for him. Language maturity needs to be assessed in these children in terms of auditory discrimination of all the necessary phonemes, and the habitual use of the correct syntax or grammar. Interaction with the teacher on an individual basis is also crucial for the child. If the child understands sound patterns in English, the beginning instruction should be in English; if he understands Spanish, the instruction should be in Spanish. The second language should be introduced systematically but gradually, to develop genuine bilingualism in the student. The bilingual-bicultural program encompasses all the domains of the learning process. The student should acquire the concepts and skills of two languages, and should attain a positive self-image through the understanding of the values of his own culture. A multicultural program increases the appreciation of the contributions of other cultures, and fosters the democratic ideal. (MBM)

THE IMPLICATIONS OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION FOR DEVELOPING MULTICULTURAL SENSITIVITY THROUGH TEACHER EDUCATION

CULTURAL AWARENESS

Introduction

Multicultural education can no longer be avoided or treated half-heartedly. Current emphasis on civil rights of citizens, recognition of variant value systems in all social groups, and the inadequacies in our present school system to educate all of the students require us to look seriously for ways to enrich the school curriculum in cultural and linguistic diversity. Public recognition and public support make possible language maintenances for speakers of other languages across the United States. Cultural diversity, verbalized freely in democratic ideals, has, in practice, been ignored or given only token acceptance. Of course, two language schools, that is, effective teaching of second languages in the course of study, requires aggressive public support. Language, in and of itself, cannot perpetuate the desired values of multiculturism.

Bilingualism, or multilingualism, can continue to exist only if it is intertwined in the total cultural context of the ethnic and religious values of the people. Multiculturalism requires knowledge of and concern for one's heritage and the social freedom to express this heritage with personal pride.

If children from various minority ethnic groups are provided the opportunity in school to understand--to enjoy, to "live"--their cultural heritage and to speak the mother tongue, their adult lives will be greatly enriched, and such diversity enables them to share more richly with the total citizenry.

> We can now live, not just amphibiously in divided and distinquished worlds, but pluralistically in many worlds and cultures simultaneously. We are no more committed to one culture--to a single ratio among the human senses--any more than to one book or to one language or to one technology. . . . Compartmentalizing of human potential by single cultures will soon be as absurd as specialism in subject or discipline has become. It is not likely that our age is more obsessional than any other, but it has become sensitively aware of the condition and fact of obsession beyond any other age.[1]

Multicultural Values

Cultural mores, habits, values, and characteristics interfere with the learning of a second language. This interference is aggravated by the lack of knowledge which educators have about other cultures. Culture represents communication, and without culture there can be no communication. Personality affects communication. Home environment contributes to the

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[1]Marshall McLuhan, The Gutenberg Galaxy (Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press, 1962), p. 31.

success or failure of language acquisition. Most of all, the desire and need to accept the new language and its cultural ramifications determine the success of the language learner's endeavors.

The linguistic phenomenon in the Southwest is bicultural, not bilingual. Language expresses the values of a culture; culture, by determining behavioral practices and goals, limits the connotations and denotations of the language. The scope of bilingualism is illustrated in the use of the word *father* in Anglo-America and in traditional Zuni Indian culture. For the Zuni child, the word *father* represents his mother's husband--a man who enjoys his children as companions. He takes no part in disciplining his children, nor does he have any concern for their economic security. In his matrilineal society, the mother owns the property and her brothers assist in the rearing and disciplining of the children. Further, it is said that she may divorce her husband by leaving his shoes and ceremonial garb outside the door while he is away and that this act will be his cue to gather up his few belongings and return to his mother's house. Family organization is of an extended nature, and the marriage does not decree that a man-wife love relationship is more important than the consanguinal mother-son or sister-brother relationship. In short, in a matrilineal, consanguinal, extended family, *father* may mean a specific set of behavior patterns such as described above.

Father, for the Anglo middle-class, represents the legal head of a household who is held responsible for the rearing and disciplining of his children. His marriage to his wife is based, at least theoretically, on a conjugal or love relationship; and even if dissolved in a court of law, he may still be held accountable for her full support. For this child, *father* is a full set of meanings derived from a patrilineal, conjugal, nuclear family relationship.

It is hoped that each child holds two important psychological values about his language and his family that speaks that language. First, he should feel that his language is a good one; that it expresses his ideas and wishes adequately; and that he may be justly proud to use it. Second, all of the people in his extended family use the language which he has learned as his first language, and he derives his ego strength and sense of personal worth as a member of that particular ethnic group. If the school teaches, however, that English is the only acceptable language there and that use of another language even during free play on the playground will be punished, the child can only conclude that his school feels that his language is inferior to the one that must be used all the time during the school day.

If the teacher reacts negatively to the child's first language, the child will further conclude that only people that speak English are adequate in his teacher's eyes. For many years, children in the Southwest were denied the use of their own language and subtly taught that their language and their people were inferior. To cite an example of this kind of teaching, a dormitory counselor in a bordertown dormitory for Indian students is reported to have met a bus load of boys and girls at his school in the fall of the year and asked them to group themselves around him so that he might say a word to them. He then made the following announcement:
2

"The first thing I want you to do here is to forget that you are an Indian, and the second thing I want to tell you is that we speak only English around here."

For Spanish-speaking children, bilingual classes taught in Spanish and English would provide natural, workable programs in many schools in the Southwest. Since Spanish is a major language of the world, books, newspapers, and periodicals are readily available in that language. Many nations in the Americas have some 200,000,000 speakers of the language with libraries, government, business, and schools functioning in Spanish.

The question of young Navajo children receiving instruction in school in the Navajo language is an entirely different question--though no less important. Although there are no libraries and there is no indicated future use, the two psychological values already discussed are just as valid for the Navajo as for the Spanish child.

Maybe, even for him, at ages 5 and 6, the school should spend up to two-thirds of his day in the Navajo language with planned, sequenced, intensive teaching of English as a spoken means of communication. Learning concepts and reading readiness in Navajo would save the child some time later on. Hopefully, by age 7 or 8, he would begin to learn to read in English and use it as his medium of reading and writing instruction. Yet, by the behavior of the adults at school during his first 3 years there, he would know that the school valued his language, and in turn his cultural heritage, and he might well participate in a Navajo conversation class throughout his school life.

> As Pogo once said, "We have met the enemy--and he is us." We Americans do so much that is fine and good both here and abroad that we tend to think we have no flaws, when in truth our Achilles heel in international relations is our tendency to be basically proud, provincial, and unprepared for cultural shock. We do not really appreciate fully our own subcultures, let alone understand the rest of the world and its awesome problems. To a degree we are still insular, as if that were necessary to our mental health.[2]

Hilda Taba, in her book on curriculum development, emphasizes the way our own prejudices--our ethnocentrism--get in the way when we evaluate other people's habits, activities and values:

> These emotional valuations acquired in the process of learning a personality create at once stability and unity within a culture and a problem of ethnocentricity in inter-cultural relations. Socialization into one culture inevitably creates barriers to understanding the values of another culture. Because individuals are conditioned to the behavior, values and norms of a given society, their capacity to understand and to appreciate that which is different from their

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[2]Felix C. Robb, "International Education: The Prospect" (address delivered at the White House Conference on International Cooperation, November 30, 1965, Washington, D.C.).

own culture is limited. In addition to the difficulty of seeing the "other," there is the culturally conditioned incapacity to see members of other cultures in terms of that culture's values and standards. A person of one culture responds to a foreign culture in terms of the values and norms of his own culture--that is to say, ethnocentrically. Procrastination becomes laziness in the eyes of a person reared in a work-worshipping culture. A gadget-admiring American regards as inferior anyone who chooses to spend his money on a vacation instead of a refrigerator.[3]

Two classroom teachers on the Navajo Reservation have written:

> Perhaps the dangers for most classroom teachers are covert. He may tell the Indian child that he is superstitious or primitive but in the way that the teacher emphasizes that his way is superior, he teaches the child subtly to feel his own inferiority.
>
> Teachers manage very early in the child's school life to build an attitude about the way "people" build gabled-roofed bungalows with windows with curtains and a chimney with smoke. Before the child leaves first grade, he has usually learned about this completely sterotyped kind of line drawing expected during his reading work period. One must eat green leafy vegetables all winter, a bed is better than a sheepskin, and "we" all brush our teeth after meals. If the teacher unconsciously emphasizes that his way is the "right and proper" way, then the child has twelve long years to realize that the teacher feels his life is inadequate, inferior, and rejected or he early rejects the white man's way and value.[4]

Taleyesva describes one of his experiences with the snake which he believed has supernatural power:

> One day, while I was working in the field, it rained. Since it was nearly noon, I went to my father's field house and lay down to eat my lunch. Glancing to my left I saw a snake coiled with raised head. He looked straight into my eyes and stuck out his tongue several times. I remained very still thinking hard and prayerfully. When it stopped raining, the snake crawled to me, touching the toe of my shoe, and drew back. He returned, touched my ankle, came up to my knee, and drew back again. He seemed to think for a moment, came a third time, crawled up along my side to my chin, and licked my face and nose. I was frightened and sweating, but tried not to tremble. I spoke to the snake very quietly and in a pleasant voice: "My Father, I am the son of the snake and lizard. You have come to examine my heart and learn what kind of man I am. I am only a common man and not very good or wise. Please do me no harm." Then the snake coiled partly around my neck and lay still for a moment. I

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[3]Hilda Taba, Curriculum Development: Theory and Practice (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1962), p. 52.

[4]Stephen L. and Judith E. Bayne, "Motivating Navajo Children," Journal of American Indian Education, 8:3-4; January 1969.

> thought to myself, "If this sacred snake wants to harm me, what can I do?" Finally he moved away as if satisfied with me. I was glad that he had come to me, for if my heart had been evil, he would never have been so gentle. I felt that this was the work of my Guardian Spirit, and that I was safe in his hands. I remembered how I had once raised a stone to kill a snake that almost choked me and now I knew that it was my Spirit Guide that changed my mind just in time. I could also remember how when I dug a hole to die in, I was saved at the very edge of my grave. And, of course, I could never forget how the snakes dropped their heads when they saw me on the death journey and how my Guardian Spirit restored me to life and promised to protect me. All these things were proof to me that the ancestral spirits approved of my conduct and wanted me to stay on the Hopi Sun Trail.[5]

Polingaysi Qoyawayma is a Hopi woman who has recorded many of the conflicts in her attempts at a bicultural adjustment in her autobiography *No Turning Back*. Her curiosity to learn more about the white man's world, to participate in that world, and to combine the best of the two cultures made her life as a teacher in government schools a continual struggle. She wanted to reject the simple artifacts and symbolism of her Hopi religion and in return she endured rejection from both her own people and from many of the non-Indians to whom she looked for understanding and acceptance. She could not dismiss the teachings of her elders which had given her the dignity and the values that were her whole life:

> A true Hopi is a part of the universe and must keep himself in balance, she had been told. All things, animate and inanimate, have life and being. A true Hopi tries to be aware of the deep spiritual essence that is at the heart of all things. All things have inner meaning and form and power. The Hopi must reach into nature and help it to move forward in its cycles, harmoniously and beautifully.[6]

She had been taught to be helpful and generous. She knew the Hopi idea of responsibility to oneself, one's family, clan, community, and race. To be in harmony with the true Hopi way would help all people, she had learned early in life.

> When you make your morning prayers, breathe a wish that your life will be good. Those who have something good to live by want to live a long life. Those who are happy sing. Sing as you run to your gardens at dawn. Sing as you work in the sunshine. Do not allow anger to poison you. Thoughts of anger toward another open ways into the angry one's life through which bad influences find their way.[7]

It was a beautiful way of thinking.

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[5]Leo W. Simmons, Sun Chief: Autobiography of a Hopi Indian (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942), pp. 206-7.

[6]Polingaysi Qoyawayma, (Elizabeth Q. White), No Turning Back (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1964), pp. 128-29.

[7]Ibid., pp. 128-29.

Ethnocentrism

Fersh reminds us that:

> From the moment of birth, the infant in all cultures is encouraged to be ethnocentric--to believe that his homeland, his people, his language, his everything is not only different but is superior to those of other people. The elder (by demonstration and remonstration) teach that the ways in which we do things are the "natural ways," "the proper ways," and "the moral ways." In other places, they--"barbarians," "infidel," "foreigners,"--follow a "strange" and "immoral" way of life. "Ours is the culture; theirs is a culture."[8]

In the Chinese language, their words for the name of their country means *middle kingdom*, not some vague far away place we call the far east. The Navajo call themselves *Dineh*--the people. Not insignificant Indians on an isolated reservation, but *the people*.

Fersh asks teachers to think critically about values children will learn if they encounter experiences like these:

> Why . . . should a photograph in an American textbook which shows an Indian woman and her children have a caption which reads, "even in mud huts, Indian parents love their children?"[9]

> What is a teacher implying when, in her introductory remark to students, she says, "Although the people of Asia and Africa are backward, there is no reason for us to feel superior?"[10]

It is neither necessary nor possible for a person to stop being to some degree ethnocentric. One can *not* be expected to allay his strongest loyalty to those people and experiences through which he was inducted into his culture. However, one's awareness of his own ethnocentricity should enable him to understand the differences and make contrasts and comparisons in a logical frame of reference. Fersh wrote:

> Ignorance about others perpetuates ignorance about one's self because it is only by comparisons that one can discover personal differences and similarities. The "glass" through which other cultures are viewed serves not only as a window; it serves also as a mirror in which each can see a reflection of his own way of life.[11]

Children in school need to be made aware that, anthropologically, one culture is not better than or superior to another nor has it any greater claim to ultimate truths. They need to guard against the use of such words as underpriviledged, backward, or inferior when they are used in patronizing or demeaning ways.

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[8]Seymour Fersh, "Studying Other Cultures: Looking Outward Is 'In'," National Council for the Social Studies, Yearbook (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1968), p. 132.

[9]Ibid., p. 129. [10]Ibid., p. 131. [11]Ibid., p. 134.

Albert Camus warns that,

> The evil that is in the world always comes from ignorance, and good intentions may do as much harm as malevolence, if they lack understanding. On the whole men are more good than bad; that, however, isn't the real point. But they are more or less ignorant, and it is this that we call vice or virtue; the most incorrigible vice being that of an ignorance which fancies it knows everything. . . .[12]

The question is no longer whether we should learn about other cultures; the real questions are what and how should we learn about other people and for what purposes? Perhaps the chief point to be made about cultural awareness is that it is very difficult for anyone born into a culture, that he has never been away from, to have genuine appreciation for the varying values and behaviors of others.

Ethnocentrism is natural and cannot be lessened without sufficient awareness of differing positive values held by others. Visiting and living in another culture and seeing the individual people as human beings is, of course, the natural way to learn awareness. There just has to be some way to awaken this awareness in as many people as possible.

Generally, people's responses to these stages of awareness include:

1. I never knew that;
2. I never thought of that;
3. I never felt that . . .;
4. I am trying to appreciate that . . . (This does not mean just that we can no longer afford to ignore--a negative twist--but rather, if we do understand, other cultures do add value to ours.

Language in Culture

Kaulfers illustrates clearly how language is an integral part of a people's culture. Language is the means by which thoughts and feelings are expressed; language guides our thinking about social problems and processes. Kaulfers says:

> How translation can defeat its own ends if words are merely transverbalized without regard for their pleasant or unpleasant associations is illustrated by the difficulties missionaries have sometimes in trying to convert remote populations to Christianity. Most Eskimos, for example, eat no bread. Few like it, because it has no taste or smell. Consequently, early missionaries found it difficult to explain the phrase, "Give us this our daily bread." To win the natives, they had to substitute walrus, polar bear, and deer. This illustration is but one of many that could be cited to show how an expert command of a second language always requires a thorough understanding of the attitudes, likes, dislikes, customs, and standards of values of the people.[13]

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[12]Albert Camus, The Plague (New York: Knopf, 1948), p. 110.

[13]Walter V. Kaulfers, "Gift of Tongues or Tower of Babel," Educational Forum, November 1954, p. 82.

Ramirez expresses clearly the results of denying the child his language:

> Since his culture is not permitted expression in the classroom, his parents are not able to become active participants in the educational process. This results in a separation of the two worlds in which, as a bicultural person, he must participate: the world of his parents, which is usually very much identified with the Mexican or Mexican-American values, and the world of school which is usually representative of the value system of the Anglo middle class. These two worlds vie for the child's loyalty. At school, he is told in essence: "If you do not reject the Mexican-American culture you cannot succeed." At home and in the barrios, the appeal is different: "If you become Anglicized, you are a traitor; you come to feel you are too good for your people."
>
> Thus the Chicano child feels forced to choose between his teachers and his parents, between his Anglo peers and his Chicano peers. The choice causes great turmoil and tension. And so it is not difficult to explain why Mexican-Americans have higher dropout and absenteeism rates. They experience what the personality psychologist calls an approach-avoidance conflict with respect to education. They want to be educated; they realize its importance. But in order to achieve it they must reject themselves--an understandably painful process for any human being.[14]

Mace illustrates the miscalculations which result from assuming that other cultures hold the same values as one's own. He writes about an experience he had in India when discussing Western romance marriages which he assumed would be the envy of those who were "doomed" to marriages which were arranged by the parents:

> "Wouldn't you like to be free to choose your own marriage partner?" I asked. "Oh, no!" several voices replied in chorus. I was taken aback. "Why not?" I asked.
>
> "Doesn't it put the girl in a very humiliating position?" one girl said . . . . "Doesn't she have to try to look pretty, and call attention to herself, and attract a boy, to be sure she'll get married?. . . . And if she dosen't want to do that or if she feels it's undignified, wouldn't that mean she mightn't get a husband? . . . Well, surely that's humiliating, it makes getting married a competition, in which the girls fight each other for the boys. And it encourages a girl to pretend she's better than she really is. She has to make a good impression to get a boy and then she has to go on making a good impression to get him to marry her. . . . In our system we girls don't have to worry at all. We know we'll get married. When we are old enough, our parents find a suitable boy, and everything is arranged. . . . How can we judge the character of a boy we meet?

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[14]Manuel Ramirez III, "Cultural Democracy: A New Philosophy for Educating the Mexican American Child," The National Elementary School Principal, 50:45; November 1970.

We are young and inexperienced. Our parents are older and wiser, and they aren't as easily deceived as we would be. I'd far rather have my parents choose for me. It's important that the man I marry is the right one. I could easily make a mistake if I had to select him myself."[15]

Cultural Universals

Perhaps there are some cultural universals--common human characteristics that permeate the interaction of people in all cultures. Clearly, the operational level of each universal would become culture bound for each individual in the process of his growing up in a given culture. Clearly, each philosopher in each divergent culture might choose to express the cultural universals in slightly different ways; each could only react through his own ethnocentric world view. However, Barrett and Yankelovich suggest nine such cultural universals:

1. The quest for food and shelter and other means of satisfying survival needs.
2. The quest for security both in territorial and emotional sense.
3. The need for order, certainty, and form; the assurance of experience that is repeatable and the pressing need to preserve some semblance of order and pattern.
4. The quest especially when survival needs are met to enlarge range and quality of human satisfaction (Curiosity, imagination, intellect).
5. Man is a creature of hope oriented toward the future always needing a feeling of surety and confidence that the society of which he is a part holds out the hope that his aspirations will be fulfilled.
6. The capacity to make choices and an urgent requirement for at least a limited freedom to be able to do so.
7. The common need to confirm his own ego identity within a framework of meaning the individual creates for himself within the culture. (Who am I? Why am I here? Where am I going?)
8. The common need, however diverse the culture, to experience a sense of his own worthwhileness, to build up a conviction that he is valued by others.
9. The need for a system of values and beliefs to which he can commit himself and even sacrifice himself.[16]

Summary

The student internalizes much of his way of behaving by the demands placed upon him by his culture. The culture instills group goals, mores, taboos, values, and levels of aspiration. The attitude of the teacher,

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[15]David Mace, "Marriage by Arrangement," McCall's, August 1959 [cited by Seymour H. Fersh, "Semantics and the Study of Culture," Social Education, May 1963].

[16]William Barrett and Daniel Yankelovich (eds.), Ego and Instinct (New York: Random House, 1970).

of course, is vital in these circumstances. Unless the teacher is knowledgeable, patient, and understanding, the student who must learn English as a second language develops insecurity instead of security, worry instead of competence and makes enemies instead of friends of the English language.

Teachers must be continually alert to the differences in languages, values, customs--the whole cultural heritage--and seek to understand the students they teach as real people with all the feelings, attitudes, and emotional responses that make them behave the way they do. Most important is the realization that one way of life or one language for communication is not better, nor superior, and not "more right" than another.

Yu-Kuang Chu discusses six necessary attitudes and abilities for an understanding of non-Western culture:

1. Beware of stereotyped notions about foreign peoples.
2. See the common humanity of man amidst cultural diversities in the world.
3. Recognize a different scale of values in a non-Western society.
4. Develop human empathy and active concern for other peoples.
5. Discern the inter-relationships between language and culture.
6. Finally, study non-Western cultures for their intrinsic worth and thus see the richness of human thought and life.[17]

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[17]Yu-Kuang Chu, "The Liberal Values of Non-Western Studies," Topic: A Journal of the Liberal Arts [Washington and Jefferson College, Washington, Pennsylvania], Spring 1962 [reprinted by the Asia Society].

THE FAILURE OF THE TRADITIONAL SCHOOL IN MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

Introduction

Elam describes the plight of the Puerto Rican child who understands no English when he enrolls in the New York City schools:

> In this new environment the foundations of his security are shaken. A sudden change or interruption of culture may cause learning to cease. He must cling to the traditions of his culture and lag behind in acquisition of a second language, or discard his traditions and acquire a "foreign" tongue. Either choice results in emotional upheaval which may result in maladjustment toward school or his home environment.[1]

Classroom teachers demonstrate that they are the victims of their own cultural past as in subtle and covert ways they cause children to contrast their own values with those of the teacher: "English is the language of the school." Did the teacher mean to say that the child's vernacular was not acceptable, not as valuable? "The set of values in our classroom are the right values for our society." Did the teacher mean to say that other people's values, if they conflict with his, are less right?

"American heroes are described as great and honorable men." Is the teacher saying that all these Indian chiefs who fought against us were barbaric villians?

"In the past, the American society has looked upon affluence as a value and has admired the rich one." Is the teacher aware that in the past many Indian groups have admired the wise one and have been cautious about having "too much" because riches may bring bad luck?

"Man must harness and cause the forces of nature to work for him." Is this a better belief than that Nature will provide for man if he will behave as he should and obey nature's laws?

If the report of Hess and Torney can be accepted, it seems very clear that by age 7 or 8, young children are already convinced of the superiority of their own way of life.

A belief in the superiority of one's own country and language appeared frequently in the responses of children in the early grades. One second-grade boy, when asked if he would rather be an Englishman or an American, said:

> Well, I wouldn't like to be an Englishman because I wouldn't like to talk their way, and I'd rather be an American because they have better toys, because they have better things, better stores, and better beds

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[1]Sophie L. Elam, "Acculturation and Learning Problems of Puerto Rican Children," Teacher's College Record, February 1960, pp. 258-64.

and blankets, and they have better play guns, and better boats, and mittens and coats, and better schools and teachers.[2]

Elam further underscores our problem:

> Most of our textbooks are written by middle-class professors for middle-class teachers of middle-class children. Education has not found ways to integrate the findings of anthropology, social psychology, and clinical psychology into the educational and developmental sequence usually taught in the teacher preparation courses.
>
> We must learn to help children move from anxiety, panic, and insecurity through their limbo of no understanding of cultural and language cues to courage, independence, and a positive outlook.[3]

Historical Evidence of Educational Retardation

The American school system is, generally, a set of conforming middle-class administrators and teachers professing middle-class values interacting with middle-class students who possess the same value orientation or are in the process of acquiring it. The lower-class and the minority students whose needs and values do not necessarily conform are much more likely to become drop-out statistics.

Since schools reflect the norms and values of the community, it is equally true that they also reflect its prejudices both overtly and covertly. Few school systems gear their curricula to the needs of culturally different children. Few know, empirically, what the needs are. It is easier and safer to prohibit the speaking of Spanish on the school ground and in the school (the need being to learn English) than to take the imaginative step of teaching both English and Spanish to both Anglos and Spanish-speaking from the kindergarten level in the elementary school. As a consequence, the educated Spanish-speaking person who survived the school system will likely have been denied his native language, or at best he speaks and writes it superficially. Obviously, this is a tragic waste of human resources.

One example of our distress in school curriculum and its relevance appears in classrooms up and down the Rio Grande in New Mexico. We have imported hundreds of teachers who teach third-grade children that the first important event in American history was the arrival of the Pilgrims on the Mayflower in 1620. Little Pueblo children whose heritage dates from literally thousands of years in the picturesque, enchanting Southwest and Spanish-surnamed children whose heritage established a capitol of Spanish territory north of Santa Fe in 1598 learn quickly that school is one world and out-of-school is another and the two have little relationship.

If principals were able to help their faculties develop priorities in helping children learn how to learn instead of presenting a false idea

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[2]Robert D. Hess and Judith V. Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, Doubleday and Co., 1967), p. 32.

[3]Elam, op. cit., p. 261.

that we know what you need to know, we could then begin to shuck off much of our outmoded tradition and use our time to help each child achieve his objectives.

While it is true that educational and psychological tests will help if intelligently used and interpreted, the history of their use in New Mexico does not at all attest to such sensitivity. This paper will cite only one example: Haught[4] tested the hypothesis that the longer Spanish-surnamed children went to school, the less handicapped they would be by the use of the English language there. Therefore, one could administer the usual standardized intelligence tests and the other students would not have a language handicap so their intelligence scores would be "accurate" or "valid" and should fit the normal curve of distribution. However, Haught found that the older students were as handicapped as the younger ones. He even determined that Spanish-American children, on the average, have an I.Q. of 79 compared to the I.Q. score of 100 for the average Anglo.

The naive statement that students would gain language sophistication merely by attending school and that they would develop all the necessary academic vocabulary for keeping up in their subject matter hardly seems logical even for 1930; it can certainly not be excused today. Yet, when administrators do not establish a curriculum that will systematically and consciously develop such language sophistication along with an understanding of the cultural differences that exist, the same naive hypothesis is being perpetuated.

Achievement testing done by Tireman in 1936 showed seventh graders 2.3 years educationally retarded. While the first graders and second graders had achieved approximately at grade level norms, each class through the elementary school had become more and more educationally retarded.[5]

Sanchez reported in 1932 that 41 percent of the elementary school children in New Mexico were overage for their grade placement. The mean overageness was 2.2 years.[6] Sininger's study substantiated the report of Sanchez.[7]

Coombs reported in 1958 the same problem of achievement for Indian children:

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[4]B. F. Haught, "The Language Difficulty of Spanish-American Children," The Journal of Applied Psychology, 15:92-95; February 1931.

[5]Loyd Tireman, Teaching Spanish-Speaking Children (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1948), pp. 45-50.

[6]George I. Sanchez, "The Age Grade Status of the Rural Child in New Mexico Public Elementary Schools, 1931-1932," Educational Research Bulletin, I (Santa Fe: State of New Mexico, Department of Education, November 1932).

[7]Harlan Sininger, "An Age Grade Study of the San Jose Training School and Its Two Control Schools," University of New Mexico Bulletin, School Series, 1:3-10, 1931.

Whereas the mean scores of the area groups were close to the published norms of the California Achievement Tests at grades four and five, they tended to fall progressively farther below the "national" norms as the higher grades were reached. This phenomenon has characterized the scores of every area group in this study.[8]

It is important to emphasize that Coombs wrote that the middle-class orientation of the curriculum of the school and the serious cultural conflicts likely cause Indian children to learn school subjects less well than white children.

More recently, Boyce wrote:

> . . . achievement medians of Indian children, regardless of language handicap, tend to be up to norm by the end of the second grade. Thereafter, more and more Indian children fall below published norms. By the end of the sixth grade, Indian achievement medians in the three R's tend to be two or more grades below published norms.[9]

In midyear 1959, the Gilmore Oral Reading Test was administered to 283 Pueblo Indian children in a large elementary school in New Mexico. Grade norms may be assumed as 3.5, 4.5, 5.5, and 6.5. Third graders achieved 2.2 in accuracy, 1.9 in comprehension; fourth graders achieved 2.8 in accuracy, 2.2 in comprehension; fifth graders, 3.6 in accuracy, 2.6 in comprehension; and the sixth graders, 3.4 in accuracy, 2.6 in comprehension.[10]

In 1969, the Department of Education of New Mexico drew a large ramdom sample of fifth graders, eighth graders, and eleventh graders and tested achievement with the California Test of Basic Skills.

The 1969 Assessment Survey of academic achievement was conducted and compiled by the Guidance Services Division of the New Mexico State Department of Education. The primary purpose of the study was to ascertain the general level achieved on the California Test of Basic Skills at the fifth, eighth, and eleventh grade levels in New Mexico. The secondary aim was to compare the results with a similiar survey which had been conducted in 1965.

Forty-one schools representing 30 districts were randomly chosen from the total population of public elementary and secondary schools in New Mexico. Before sampling, the schools were stratified as elementary, junior, and high schools. A total of 4,548 students were tested. The study included large, medium, and small schools from all geographic areas of the

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[8] L. Madison Coombs and others, The Indian Child Goes to School (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1958), p. 3.

[9] George Boyce, "Why Do Indians Quite School?" Indian Education, No. 344 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, May 1, 1960), p. 5.

[10] Miles V. Zintz, Education Across Cultures (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Co., 1969), p. 138.

state. The percentage of ethnic enrollment for fifth grade was 39 percent Anglo, 53 percent Spanish-surnamed, 6 percent Indian, and 2 percent Negro. Eighth grade includes 69 percent Anglo, 24 percent Spanish-surnamed, 3 percent Indian, and 3 percent Negro. The eleventh grade includes 40 percent Anglo, 55 percent Spanish-surnamed, 2.5 percent Indian, and 1.3 percent Negro.

The test instruments were selected by a committee of educational specialists from the Department of Education. Counselors or other designated persons administered the tests and were responsible for identifying ethnic groups and school size. On the basis of the instruments used, the following factors were significant:

1. New Mexico norms were significantly lower than national norms at the eleventh grade level.
2. The study indicates that students in larger schools score higher than students in smaller schools, especially at fifth and eighth grade levels.
3. At all levels the major ethnic patterns were the same, ranking first, Anglo; second, Spanish-surnamed; and third, Indian. This coincides with the 1965 study.

Performance by ethnic group at each level is shown graphically in Figures I, II, and III.

The construction and use of several tests of different facets of the English language have provided convincing evidence that these children do not have command of the English language with sufficient sophistication to use multiple meanings of common words, to respond to simple analogies, to interpret either idioms or slang expressions, to provide words of opposite meanings--a simple antonyms test, or to provide elementary morphological or syntactical forms in English usage.[11]

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[11] Maurine Yandell, "Some Difficulties Which Indian Children Encounter with Idioms in Reading" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of New Mexico, 1959); Richard Scott, "Acculturation Among Mescalero Apache High School Students" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of New Mexico, 1959); Veta W. Mercer, "The Efficiency of Bilingual Children in Understanding Analogies in the English Language" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of New Mexico, 1960); Christine Dudding, "An Investigation into the Bilingual's Comprehension of Antonyms" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of New Mexico, 1961); Clara Jett Cox, " An Experimental Study in the Teaching of Certain Facets of the English Language to Navajo Pupils in the Sixth Grade" (unpublished individual study, University of New Mexico, 1963); Stephen G. Hess, "A Comparative Study of the Understanding Which Bilingual Students Have of the Multiple Meanings of English Words" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of New Mexico, 1963); Robert Gallegos, "A Report of the Language Program Designed to Improve Vocabularies of Bilingual and Culturally Deprived Children" (unpublished paper, University of New Mexico, 1963); William A. Candelaria, "A Comparative Investigation of the Understanding Which Sixth Grade Anglo, Spanish-American, and Negro Children Have of Analogies in the English Language" (unpublished paper, University of New Mexico, 1968).

FIGURE I
APRIL 1969
CALIFORNIA TEST OF BASIC SKILLS

OBTAINED GRADE EQUIVALENT
ETHNIC GROUPS

ANGLO — — — —
SPANISH SURNAME —x—x—x—
INDIAN —o—o—o—
NEGRO -·-|—|—|—

GRADE 5 NAT. NORMS

NUMBER TESTED 1475

OGE	RDG VOC	RDG COMP	RDG TOTL	LANG MECH	LANG EXP	LANG SPL	LANG TOTL	AR COMP	AR CON	AR APL	AR TOTL	BTRY TOTL	SS REF	SS GRPH	SS TOTL	OGE
6.8																6.8
6.7																6.7
6.6																6.6
6.5																6.5
6.4																6.4
6.3																6.3
6.2																6.2
6.1																6.1
6.0																6.0
5.9																5.9
5.8																5.8
5.7																5.7
5.6																5.6
5.5																5.5
5.4																5.4
5.3																5.3
5.2																5.2
5.1																5.1
5.0																5.0
4.9																4.9
4.8																4.8
4.7																4.7
4.6																4.6
4.5																4.5
4.4																4.4
4.3																4.3
4.2																4.2
4.1																4.1
4.0																4.0
3.9																3.9
3.8																3.8
3.7																3.7

FIGURE II
APRIL 1969
CALIFORNIA TEST OF BASIC SKILLS

GRADE 8

NAT. NORMS

NUMBER TESTED 1256

OBTAINED GRADE EQUIVALENT
ETHNIC GROUPS
ANGLO — — — —
SPANISH SURNAME —X—X—X—
INDIAN —O—O—O—
NEGRO —|—|—|—

OGE	RDG VOC	RDG COMP	RDG TOTL	LANG MECH	LANG EX	LANG SP	LANG TOTL	AR COMP	AR CON	AR APL	AR TOTL	BTRY TOTL	SS REF	SS GRPH	SS TOTL	OGE
10.0																10.0
9.9																9.9
9.8																9.8
9.7																9.7
9.6																9.6
9.5																9.5
9.4																9.4
9.3																9.3
9.2																9.2
9.1																9.1
9.0																9.0
8.9																8.9
8.8																8.8
8.7																8.7
8.6																8.6
8.0																8.0
7.9																7.9
7.8																7.8
7.7																7.7
7.6																7.6
7.5																7.5
7.4																7.4
7.3																7.3
7.2																7.2
7.1																7.1
7.0																7.0
6.9																6.9
6.8																6.8
6.7																6.7
6.6																6.6
6.5																6.5
6.2																6.2
6.1																6.1
6.0																6.0
5.9																5.9
5.8																5.8
5.7																5.7
5.6																5.6
5.5																5.5
5.4																5.4
5.3																5.3
5.2																5.2
5.1																5.1
5.0																5.0
4.9																4.9
4.8																4.8
4.7																4.7
4.6																4.6
4.5																4.5

FIGURE III
APRIL 1969
CALIFORNIA TEST OF BASIC SKILLS

CONTAINED GRADE EQUIVALENT
ETHNIC GROUPS

ANGLO — — — —
SPANISH SURNAME —x—x—x—
INDIAN —o—o—o—
NEGRO —|—|—|—

GRADE 11 NAT. NORMS____

NUMBER TESTED 1656

OGE	RDG VOC	RDG COMP	RDG TOTL	LANG MECH	LANG EXP	LANG SPL	LANG TOTL	AR COMP	AR CON	AR APL	AR TOTL	BTRY TOTL	SS REF	SS GRPH	SS TOTL	OGE
11.8																11.8
11.7																11.7
11.6																11.6
11.5																11.5
11.4																11.4
11.3																11.3
11.2																11.2
11.1																11.1
11.0																11.0
10.9																10.9
10.8																10.8
10.7																10.7
10.3																10.3
10.2																10.2
10.1																10.1
10.0																10.0
9.9																9.9
9.8																9.8
9.7																9.7
9.6																9.6
9.5																9.5
9.4																9.4
9.3																9.3
9.2																9.2
9.1																9.1
9.0																9.0
8.9																8.9
8.8																8.8
8.7																8.7
8.6																8.6
8.5																8.5
8.4																8.4
8.3																8.3
8.2																8.2
8.1																8.1
8.0																8.0
7.9																7.9
7.7																7.7
7.5																7.5
7.4																7.4

All of these test results are presented to demonstrate that for four decades the Spanish-surnamed and Indian children have been unable to achieve in the traditional course of study to which they have been exposed. Logic would dictate that teachers and administrators would eventually ask what changes are indicated in their behavior. No doubt this question has been asked in many places at many different times. However, at the classroom level, individual teachers have predominantly continued to teach their expectation of a respectable course of study, and, even though children have continued to fail, we have not radically changed anything in the school curriculum.

Cabrera, in his discussion of the Mexican-American people, documents the school failure and drop-out problems of that minority group. Numbers of high school graduates and numbers of students continuing in higher education are far too limiting when compared to their percentage of the total population in any state.

> A selected showing of 1968 enrollment data in the Southwest suffices to illustrate the underenrollment. The University of New Mexico clearly exceeds the efforts of other institutions. Mexican-American enrollment was as follows: University of California, Berkeley, 496 (1.9 percent); University of Texas at Austin, 838 (3.4 percent); University of Arizona, Tucson, 1,116 (4.9 percent); University of Colorado, 249 (1.3 percent); and the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, 1,711 (11.7 percent).[12]

Current Unsolved Problems

When intelligence testing was limited to performance tests like the Grace Arthur Point Performance Scale and the Goodenough Draw a Man test, all ethnic groups of children were found to perform in the normal range. Based on such evidence accumulated over two decades, Havighurst wrote in 1957:

> The conclusion drawn by most social scientists from the data on Indian cultures and Indian intelligence is that the American Indians of today have about the same innate equipment for learning as have the white children of America. But in those Indian tribes which have preserved their traditional cultures to some extent, there is a limited motivation of children for a high level performance in schools and colleges.[13]

Fishman has succinctly stated the problem of using the usual standardized tests with divergent or minority groups.

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[12] Y. Arturo Cabrera, Emerging Faces: The Mexican-American (Dubuque, Iowa: William C. Brown Co., 1971), p. 62.

[13] Robert J. Havighurst, "Education Among American Indians: Individual and Cultural Aspects," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 311:113; May 1958.

Standardized tests currently in use present three principal difficulties when used with minority groups. First, they may not provide reliable differentiation in the range of minority group scores. Also, many characteristics of minority group children affect test performance. The lower-class child will tend to be less verbal, less self-confident, less motivated toward academic achievement, less competitive intellectually, less exposed to stimulating materials in the home, less knowledgeable about the world, and more fearful of strangers than the middle-class child. The second difficulty is that the significance of the tests for predictive purposes may be quite different for the minority groups than for the standardization and validation groups. Factors that affect the test scores but which may have little relation to the criterion, such as test-taking skills, anxiety and motivation, may impair predictive validity. Also, the criteria which a test is predicting are usually more complex than the test itself. It is important to recognize the influence of such other factors as personality and background, which may be related to criterion performance. Test results cannot reveal the degree to which the status of disadvantaged children might change if environmental opportunities and incentives for learning were improved. Guidance and special training are therefore very important. Tests labeled culturally unfair may be valid predictors for school criteria which may be socially unfair. Most culture free tests have low predictive validity for academic work.[14]

When Orozco analyzed all of the many sub-tests of the CTBS and found no sub-test in which fifth-grade, Spanish-surnamed children achieved as well as Anglo fifth graders, there is little reason to suspect that analyzing higher cognitive processes could be productive. When one functions in a language in which he is weak and has few memory items, he is sure to have shortcomings in analyzing, synthesizing, interpreting, and evaluating. He asserted that, "The academic retardation of fifth grade Spanish-surnamed children has not substantially changed since 1936. This being the case . . . we must begin to look for all possible other causes."[15]

Orozco drew from various authors the following three factors:

1. Teacher expectation: Much of the literature reflects Rosenthal and Jacobson's self-fulfilling prophecy.[16] Teacher expectations at work mold a self-concept that eventually becomes real.
2. Alienation: Valencia points to the fact that alienation is a real factor when the schools do not use, accept, or value the student's

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[14]Joshua Fishman and others, "Guidelines for Testing Minority Group Children" (Ann Arbor: Ameican Psychological Association, Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, June 1963), p. 3.

[15]Cecilio Orozco, "Basic Skills Differences Between Fifth Grade Anglo and Spanish Surnamed Students in the Albuquerque Public School System" (unpublished Doctor's dissertation, University of New Mexico, 1971).

[16]Robert Rosenthal and Lenore F. Jacobson, Pygmalion in the Classroom (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968).

home language as a medium of instruction in the school room.[17] With respect to cultural relevancy and the use of our present culturally biased instruments, John suggests there is an early need to "learn to learn" in the manner of the dominant culture in order to be able to compete with that culture in the schools.[18]

3. Language: Gaarder proposes bilingual education as a necessary plan of school organization to cope with some of the achievement problems of minority groups.[19]

At this point, if fifth graders are as handicapped today as 35 years ago, one might say with Pogo, "We have met the enemy--and he is us."

For these reasons, then, it is necessary to look to linguistic kinds of measures to meet the achievement needs of Spanish-surnamed and Indian children in New Mexico.

Let me say just a word about our failure to understand or analyze the so-called language problem.

In the Southwest, school personnel have many stereotyped, preconceived ideas about the Spanish-speaking person. They generally believe that bilingualism, lack of verbal experience in English, lack of status of local Spanish, and a negative self-concept that is continually reinforced predetermine his educational retardation or failure and eventual dropping out of school. Sanchez wrote:

> Still I was amazed at the persistence of the assertion that bilingualism is bad, that a foreign home language is a handicap, that somehow children with Spanish as a mother tongue were doomed to failure--in fact, that they were *ipso facto* less than normally intelligent.[20]

Carter found that a great many Mexican-American and the English-speaking monolinguals generally agreed that local Spanish was grossly inferior. *No Anglo speaker of Spanish agreed with this kind of comment.* This pattern leads Carter to believe that most interviewees are influenced by prevailing stereotypes and that Anglo Spanish-speakers may be able to

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[17]Atilano A. Valencia, Bilingual-Bicultural Education: A Quest for Institutional Reform! (Riverside: University of California, School Desegregation Project, 1971).

[18]Vera John, lecture notes, University of New Mexico, College of Education, Linguistic Seminar, Spring 1970.

[19]Bruce A. Gaarder, "Teaching the Bilingual Child: Research, Development and Policy" (workpaper presented to the Conference for the Teachers of Bilingual Children, June 10, 1964, University of Texas, Austin).

[20]George I. Sanchez, "History, Culture, and Education," La Raza: Forgotten Americans, edited by Julian Samora (South Bend, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1966), p. 15.

escape this limited outlook and judge more on a factual basis the quality of the language, especially in terms of what may have been their difficulties in learning a second language.[21]

Four Approaches to Second Language Learning

Historically, we have used four basic approaches to teaching children whose first language was not English.

1. First we tried to obliterate the child's vernacular, assuming that its use would retard his learning of English. Since the public school was the main melting pot, everyone was assimilated as quickly as possible into English textbooks. The fact that as many as 80 percent of such children in some schools repeated first grade because of language differences attests to the failure of this procedure.
2. The second approach was based on the idea that if we could teach him a minimum vocabulary of words, then he could succeed in English. That learning a language consists of learning words is a false premise. Educators were searching for solutions to children's problems but they did not know that learning a language is the process of understanding the syntax of the language--"the stream of speech as people talk." So, the East San Jose experiment[22] evolved a list of 569 words to be taught to Spanish-speaking children during the pre-first grade. About 1940, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Branch of Education, developed a list of 315 words to teach Indian beginners.[23] A few years ago, schools in South Texas developed summer schools for the purpose of teaching Spanish-surnamed beginners 400 English words.[24] What the child needed to learn were patterns, meaningful expressions in the language. Anyway, what good would 569, 315, or 400 words do one 6-year-old child if most of his classmates already understood between 6,000 and 10,000 words?
3. The third approach was to teach English as a second language. Pattern practice, oral-aural modeling, and discriminating minimal pairs in contrasting the two languages were valuable facets of ESL. The teacher presented a model sentence pattern for the student to hear, to learn, and to repeat. The teacher could then introduce vocabulary to use in the pattern already taught. ESL was a huge step in the right direction, but it left out the possibility that the teacher world, subtly, by minimizing the child's vernacular, seem to be placing the home

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[21]Thomas Carter, Mexican-Americans in School: A History of Educational Neglect (Princeton, N.J.: College Entrance Examination Board, 1970), pp. 52-52.

[22]Loyd Tireman, op. cit., pp. 45-50.

[23]U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Minimum Essential Goals for Indian Schools, Beginning Year (Washington, D.C.: the Department, 1940).

[24]Louis Alexander, "Texas Helps Her Little Latins," Saturday Evening Post, 234:30-31, ff;; August 5, 1961.

language in an inferior, unacceptable position. Unilingual, English-speaking teachers were saying that the child must learn English before he could learn anything--no concepts or problem solving could go on because the teacher and pupil did not know each other's languages.

4. We hope that we have finally realized that the child comes to school with a well-developed language system. He can learn new concepts, he can think and solve problems, and his whole set of cognitive processes can go right on developing if we will just make use of the language system which he already has. If children come to school with a well-developed vernacular, they should learn to read and write in it first. Complete accountability is given to the fact that English is the national language and that it must be mastered. However, children will begin school, making all the necessary adjustments to that environment, and acquire much new information in the language they understand. Learning English as a second language may consist of no more than 5 percent of his time during the first 3 months of school. By increasing the amount of instruction in English as the student demonstrates readiness, he should be able to attend school in fourth grade with half of his day taught in his vernacular and half in English. He should be a bilingual person. Since children internalize the sound system more accurately at early ages, the advantages of this method seems logical and obvious.

If all such children were taught in this manner, they would not be branded as disadvantaged when they enter school. With reasonable success in the school, the label would change to advantaged.

The pressure to move children into formal reading groups before they have learned listening and speaking habits in the language is one of the gravest errors we continue to make with young children who must learn English as a second language.

Gertrude Hildreth observed Cuban children in Florida schools a few years ago and wrote:

> . . . few could express their ideas well in oral English. All were trying to read material that was too difficult and none were familiar with the life portrayed in the textbooks.
>
> The pupils could recognize few words at sight and none of them could use phonics to work out new words. To instruct these children in reading and written work before they speak English is sheer waste of teaching effort.
>
> Some adaptation of the language experience approach to teaching reading could utilize all the advantages in helping second-language students relate the written form of language to the limited spoken language they have learned. Experience charts written in the language of the learner will make reading useful for remembering things; will make reading rewarding in preserving one's own ideas; and will give him good practice in all the skills he needs later for more formal reading.[25]

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[25]Gertrude Hildreth, Teaching Reading (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1958), p. 564.

Fishbein reminds us that English-speaking children may have difficulties in interpreting sentences which they read.[26] In the following sentences, the first is easier than the second:

The magician bought some lettuce for the rabbit.
The magician bought the rabbit some lettuce.

It took great courage to tell the truth.
To tell the truth took great courage.

These are other grammatically equivalent sentences in which the first is easier to understand:

The dog with yellow eyes was chewing on a bone.
The yellow-eyed dog was chewing on a bone.

The wind from the north froze the pond.
The northern wind froze the pond.

Marcus has developed a diagnostic test to measure the understanding of literal meaning by intermediate grade students through syntactic clues within written English sentences.[27] This can best be explained by an example of what he is talking about. Listen to the sentence: "The man gave the boy a puppy." Now listen to four sentences and eliminate the three that do not have the same meaning.

The man gave away the boy's puppy.
The man gave a puppy to the boy.
The boy gave a puppy to the man.
The man gave a puppy away for the boy.

In a second example, three of four sentences have the same meaning. The student must mark the one that has a different meaning.

Mother gave the baby a bottle.
The baby was given the bottle by mother.
The baby gave mother the bottle.
The bottle was given to the baby by mother.

Marcus hypothesized that such a test would be a valid measure of the students' ability to understand syntactic structures of subject-predicate, object or predicate noun, modifiers, and sentences with two or more syntactically equivalent units such as compound subjects or compound sentences. When he administered the test to 421 fifth, sixth, seventh, and

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[26]Justin M. Fishbein, "After Decoding: The Means Are Changing" (Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1968).

[27]Albert David Marcus, "The Development of a Diagnostic Test of Syntactic Meaning Clues in Reading," Diagnostic Viewpoints in Reading, edited by Robert E. Leibert (Newark, Del.: International Reading Association, 1971), pp. 48-63.

eighth graders he found the mean percent correct increased from 60 percent in fifth, to 66 percent in sixth, 73 percent in seventh, and 81 percent in eighth. This lends support to the validity.

The test served its diagnostic purpose by indicating those syntactic structures with which an individual student had difficulty. This information will enable teachers to plan specific programs for those students who need such additional instruction.

Summary

Many children are victimized by teachers who fail to realize that grade level is a statistical concept describing the midpoint in the achievement levels of a heterogeneous class of students. The term guarantees by definition that half of any normal group of pupils will achieve at grade level or above while the other half will achieve at grade level or below.

When the acceptable norm in a class has been based on the work of the typical middle-class Anglo, the culturally different, language-handicapped student has had defeat predetermined for him. In that reference, school competition becomes a daily punishment for those of less advantaged ability, for whatever reason. Under circumstances in which few participants have a chance to win, it is not strange that many students protect themselves by exhibiting a low level of aspiration--that is, by not trying.

It is crucial to determine the necessary skills the child must have in order to perform the tasks that the school expects. Then, he must be observed in enough situations to see if he possesses the skill.

Language maturity needs to be assessed in these children in terms of auditory discrimination of all the necessary phonemes, the habitual use of the correct syntax or grammar.

The typical unilingual English-speaking child has mastered all the forms of English by the time he comes to first grade: that is, he speaks easily in compound sentences or complex sentences or in compound-complex sentences.

Skills in remediation techniques and diagnostic practices are perhaps two of the most obvious abilities of an outstanding teacher.

The ability to conduct a meaningful conference with parents is a powerful tool that too few teachers possess.

One of the severest criticisms to be made about the affective learning of the child is that he derives negative reinforcement when he does not respond in the pattern that the teacher had in mind.

Interactions with the teacher on an individual basis is crucial for the recognition that the child needs as an individual.

I would like to say in closing that Pogo's expression, "We have met the enemy--and he is us," may be a proper admonition to us, and we need to stop denying appropriate education to New Mexico's children.

THE SOCIOLOGY OF LANGUAGE

Introduction

Carroll illustrates the use of words as substitutes for their counterparts that contain emotionally laden meanings:

> A wryly delightful example of the skillful use of connotative meanings to suppress the evocation of undesirable emotional attitudes is the language of undertakers, as reported by Jessica Mitford in *The American Way of Death*. Instead of the *body* or the *corpse*. they use the name of the deceased: Mr. Jones, or Mrs. Smith, or whatever, thus arousing the responses that had been made to the *living* person. They do not speak of digging and filling a grave, but of *opening* and *closing* it. The *person* (not the body) is *interred* rather than buried, not in a cemetery or graveyard but in a *memorial park*. The word *death* is avoided at all costs: A death certificate is a *vital statistics form*, and the deceased didn't die, but *expired*.[1]

Additionally, this has been covered in newspapers:

> Most politicians I've heard do not simply *make decisions*, as the common man does. They *exercise options*. Nor do they *send messages*. Instead, they *initiate meaningful dialogue*. . . .
>
> . . . bartenders in recent years have become *mixologists*, and house wreckers are now *demolition engineers*. And workers, from time to time, engage in something called a *strategic withdrawal of services* previously known simply as a *strike*." They no longer take orders. They *implement directives*. And the machines don't break down. They suffer from component *malfunctions*.

When English speakers are able to use their language in such flexible ways to make these substitute responses, to avoid emotionally laden words, or to camouflage responses that otherwise might seem negative, it surely will not be surprising if concepts translated across cultures cause much confusion.

Language As a Culture Carrier

Multiculturalism implies knowing and being able to operate successfully in more than one culture. This means knowing and accepting more than one mode of behavior. It means knowing the beliefs, the values, the customs, and the mores of different groups of people. The language used at a particular time and place has the specific referents in the culture that the language represents.

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[1]John B. Carroll, Language and Thought (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1964), p. 88.

[2]Ruth Rice, "The Speech that Baffles," Denver Post, April 1971.

Do most teachers react to multicultural-multilingual students differently from monocultural-monolingual students? They do need to know more to be effective. They must know and accept the cultural differences that exist in the value systems of the students if they are to give them success in the classroom. There are many avenues to such knowledge and acceptance.

Language is an apparent excellent source to study these differences. A language tells much about the people who speak it natively. And language, especially oral language, must be given primary importance in the classroom.

Language gives clues to the feelings of people. It also lets us know from what perspective the speaker views his world. We "feel" and view things differently when we are reared in different cultures. Some words spoken in one language do not evoke the same specific reaction or meaning when translated and used in another language. Because listeners have been culturally conditioned to react in certain ways, some concepts are not accepted in the same manner when translated into another language.

The young children in school, then, are the product of whatever set of cultural forces that has taught them to think, react, value, believe, or act in certain modes. Learning styles must surely be mofidied by one's culture although research has not yet provided findings relevant to the everyday behavior of the classroom teacher. Teachers must accept differences and provide for each child his appropriate educational opportunity. Even though children may look alike physically and have the same skin color, if they have been reared in different cultures, they will think differently!

Cultural differences revealed through language can be easily illustrated:

You are planning to leave from the airport on a late afternoon flight. You know that you are expected to report 30 minutes before flight time for check in. You also know that if you don't get to the airport on time, the plane will leave as scheduled, and it will be necessary for you to arrange a later flight. Let us suppose that you forgot to put your ticket in your pocket and you have to make an extra trip home to get it. By that time, you return to airport to see your plane taxiing down the runway. You are too late. Whatever rationalization you care to use, you will likely say that it is your fault. The only way to express this idea in English is to say, "I missed the plane."

Suppose you wished to express this same idea in Spanish. Exactly the same idea doesn't exist! When the Spanish speaker doesn't get to the airport on time for his scheduled flight, he simply says, "El avion me dejo." (The airplane left me.) There is no way that you can say that you missed the airplane in Spanish. Maybe the implication is that if the pilot were a bit more intelligent, he would have waited for his passenger. The implication further exists that he should have known you were coming! The reflexive form makes things happen without human interference.

Let us look at another example of the use of the reflexive. When an English-speaking person is holding a plate in his hand and he drops it,

he immediately becomes the guilty person. He drops the plate. It is his fault. But if the same phenomenon happens to a Spanish-speaking person he can only express it as, "Se me cayo el plato." He was holding it, but the plate gathered momentum and got away from him. The plate actually moved itself. The person had little to do with it.

What have these examples said about the children in the classroom? They have said much if the teacher were able to understand. They have told us that Spanish-speaking children feel differently from Anglo children about certain things. Some children could have guilty feelings about things that other children don't. Some children think they are at fault sometimes, while other children don't. Children from different cultures don't necessarily feel the same way about guilt.

Can one feel guilty about things he has no control over? In the traditional Spanish-speaking world, there is the belief of being controlled by destiny. Those Spanish-speakers who find themselves in the various positions on the continuum of acculturation believe less in control by destiny. When something happens, the Spanish-speaking adult may not be sure if he really caused it to happen.

Does this mean the Spanish-speaking are not responsible people? Does it mean they do not accept responsiblity? Does it mean they do things and if the things go wrong, shrug their shoulders and sigh, "Well, it was going to happen."

It doesn't mean that at all. The Spanish-speaking keep trying as long as anyone else. But when doors are closed or a point of impasse is reached, they feel destiny controls. The language reveals their true feelings. "Lo que Dios diga." "Lo que sera, sera." "Lo que Dios mande." ("Whatever God says"; "What will be, will be"; and "Whatever God sends.") They have no guilty feelings because sometimes destiny is beyond their control.

In the Anglo world, man controls destiny. Man controls his environment. This implies that when things get out of control, man is the guilty one. People from the two cultures feel differently about destiny.

In the Spanish culture, people as a whole appear to enjoy every minute to its fullest. There is time for people; time for personal relations. Business dealings can never be started without the common courtesies of asking for the health of your loved ones. In the Anglo world, achievement is extremely important. They get many things done. Anglo-America gets credit for such outstanding accomplishments as getting men on the moon!

It is necessary to make a choice between these two ways of life? The answer lies in us. What are we willing to do to promote cultural understanding?

What else can language tell us about cultural differences? Let us examine a few individual words. In the Anglo world, the clock *runs*. This one word tells us a great deal of the people who use it. It implies future, momentum, action, movement. In the Spanish world, how does one

explain time? It's said, *el reloj anda*. The clock *walks*. What does this imply? Perhaps that there's more time for people; that they are not in such a hurry. The way language deals with time and space results in important behavioral differences across cultures. Saunders writes:

> In English, one says he missed the bus; in Spanish, he says the bus left him. . . . If dishes break by falling away from people, and if objects lose themselves, the way language says something may be revealing the way people in a culture view such a value as responsibility.[3]

Charles C. Fries in the foreword to Lado's book states that one of the chief difficulties is that a child has learned not only to attend to certain stimuli but also to ignore all those features which do not have a function in his own language. He also points out that these blind spots may be exactly those features which do have signalling value in the second language.[4]

Pei further points out:

> In English, you *take an examination*; but in Italian you *give it*; in French, you *undergo it*; and in Spanish, you *suffer it*.

Words, even isolated words, tell us much about people. If we as teachers would only listen to children, how much we would learn about them. How sensitive we would become to their needs.

Let us continue with a few words to show that people from the two cultures feel differently about certain things. What does the word *nepotism* mean to you. If you are Anglo, it is a terrible word. It implies dishonesty, favoritism, and always some type of "shenanigans." The few people that practice it are evil, and certainly not very democratic. But if you live in the Spanish culture, nepotism is good. The extended family concept is part of it; one helps the family whenever one can. Anglos can continue getting jobs for their enemies if they want to, but those that live in a Spanish culture will continue gettings jobs for their loved ones if they are in a position to do so. Remember, family feelings in the Spanish culture extend beyond consanguineal lines. Close friends become part of the family. The reservoir of talents for positions are not limited. To conclude, in the Anglo world, nepotism is bad; in the Spanish world, nepotism is good and beautiful. Does a teacher, teaching about nepotism, communicate with his students, when his point of reference is different from theirs?

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[3]Lyle Saunders, "Cultural Differences and Medical Care: The Case of the Spanish-Speaking People of the Southwest" (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1954), pp. 113-22.

[4]Robert Lado, Linguistics Across Cultures (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1958), p. v.

[5]Mario Pei, The Story of Language (New York: The New American Library, 1960), pp. 370-71.

We teachers are going to have to know cultural differences and their implications for learning if we are to succeed with culturally different students.

Let us take the word *sophisticated*. In the Anglo world, the word is meant to be a very high compliment. It's positive concept. In most of the Spanish world, *sofisticada* is an insult; a negative feeling is produced when the word is uttered. It implies "putting on the dog." Are these words translatable? We can't possibly communicate with minority group youngsters when we aren't aware of some of these subtleties.

A concept that we as teachers are famous for teaching at all grade levels is the concept of the family. In the Anglo context, *family* usually implies the nuclear concept of father, mother, and one or two children. But in the Spanish world, the term *family* connotes the idea of many people; some that are related and some that are not. It includes all those people whom they love. When a teacher discusses the concept of a family (and because he is a master teacher, of course he has a picture in his file to help him get the concept across), he usually shows a picture of the parents and two children. Who do you think is not understanding the concept, because his experiential background has prepared him differently?

The idea of female beauty is interesting to compare in the two cultures also. In the Anglo world, the model of beauty is tall, has fair skin, blue eyes, and blond hair. In the Spanish world, the model of beauty is small in stature, has olive skin, dark eyes, and black hair. What happens when only the Anglo model is constantly presented to students who cannot identify with it? Negative self-concepts can be the result.

Even the way some of our common expressions are said changes from language to language. In English, one says *black and white*; but in Spanish, *blanco y negro* (white and black). In Spanish one says *besos y abrazos* (kisses and hugs); but in English, *hugs and kisses*. So it is with *shoes and socks* and *medias y zapatos* (socks and shoes), and *arroz con pollo* (rice with chicken) and *chicken with rice*.

Let us discuss another difference between those reared in the Spanish culture and those reared in the Anglo culture. Views toward animals are very different. In the Anglo world, animals can take on almost human characteristics, can almost become members of the family. They get distemper shots, special diets, collars with rhinestones, and groomings at fancy grooming parlors. In the Spanish world, animals are functional. A word doesn't even exist in Spanish for *pet*. The concept simply doesn't exist. How does the language reflect these views?

In the Anglo world, one word suffices to describe the parts of both the human and the animal; *neck* for the animal and *neck* for the human being. It continues with leg, back, and mouth. In the Spanish culture there is a set of vocabulary to describe animals and another set to describe humans. For *neck* there is *pescuezo* for the animal and *cuello* for the human being; for *leg* there is *pata* for the animal, *pierna* for the human being; for *back*, there is *espinazo* for the animal, *espalda* for the human being; and for *mouth*, there is *hocico* for the animal, and *boca* for the human being. In

the traditional English speaking classroom we use one word to describe parts of both animals and human. Lack of awareness of these subtle differences is what communication barriers are about. It could lead to misunderstanding instead of learning.

The gestures referring to humans and animals are different in the two worlds also. In the Anglo world, the gesture to show the size of a human being and the size of an animal is the same. But in the Spanish world, there are two distinct gestures. The one used in the Anglo world is used to indicate the size of animals only. To show the size of a human, one holds his hand turned vertically so that the thumb is pointed upward instead of in the flat horizontal position. Silent language tells so much. Sensitive teachers are aware; insensitive ones don't care.

A few examples of language differences have been enumerated above. Are traditional schools meeting these differences? Johnny has the type of culture and the language that is represented in the typical school; Juanito doesn't have the language that is requested of him and sometimes his culture is in direct conflict with the one adhered to in school.

What needs to be known to become an effective teacher? By all means, cultural differences should be known, understood, and accepted. In addition, some things about language should be studied. One thing we as teachers should understand is that learning a second language is not easy. When people learn a second language they have mastered a very difficult task indeed.

The most important element in any classroom is the teacher. The biggest help that all children want, need, and expect is an empathic teacher who believes that the children come from a valuable culture, a respectable family, and that they are worthy individuals who can succeed. Techniques and materials are second in importance in the classroom where a mature, friendly, committed, empathic teacher teaches.

To promote adequately multicultural-multilingual education for a pluralistic society, educators must capitalize on the language that children bring to the school. If such students have already internalized the sound patterns of another language, their first oral and written work should be based on these sounds.

Summary

If the child understands sound patterns in English, the beginning instruction should be in English; if he understands Spanish, the instruction should then be in Spanish. Simultaneously with this instruction, the second language should be introduced systematically. At the beginning, this instruction would be for a rather small percentage of the time with large blocks of time for learning in the native language. In this phase of instruction, the sound patterns of the second language should be taught and reinforced before proceeding to reading and writing. Following these procedures, we would produce bilingual children, that is, the students would know two languages well. It makes sense to continue the student's cognitive development while learning a second language. It also makes sense to attempt to avoid the trauma a child must undergo when he finds himself in a world where his language and culture are suddenly denied.

Through the type of content we introduced to teach these languages, we could produce bicultural students. The content should be the beliefs and values of the two groups, both Spanish and Anglo. It should include customs, mores, history, fine arts, foods, and all other elements that constitute a way of life of a given group of people. The referents for the two languages should be kept separately. This, too, produces bicultural people.

These fortunate students would then know two modes of behavior and be completely comfortable in two cultural worlds. No, these students wouldn't be schizophrenic. They would change behavior called for in the two cultures much like one changes behavior to meet the needs of the particular group he is with at a given time. A true biculturate internalizes the two modes of behavior.

Perhaps this is the appropriate place to discuss the language the child brings to school. Some people would have you believe the language the child speaks isn't "correct" and therefore, can not be used for instructional purposes. The language may be a dialect, perhaps not "standard" but definitely a language with which a large group of people communicate completely and satisfactorily. Perhaps one of the aims of bilingual programs should be to guide students toward learning a standard version of a language, but certainly not by creating negative feelings in the children about their own language, be it what it may be.

Some children have internalized the sound system of their vernacular, as well as the structure. What they need is help in the area of vocabulary development in that native language.

Language is vital to human beings. Let us capitalize on its potential as an avenue for learning about those people who speak languages different from ours. Let us use languages toward building bridges of cultural understanding.

BILINGUAL EDUCATION

What is Bilingual Education?

The status of bilingual education in the United States has never been decided on any kind of rational or logical basis. A recent ERIC report by Leibowitz[1] makes clear through the past century the monocultural drive to eliminate or discourage the use of German, Japanese, Spanish, or any one of the Indian languages. It is necessary that the political pressures in determining languages be understood and differentiated from local linguistic needs. The political climate in our country in 1971 seems to be leaning much more wholesomely toward pluralistic freedom of choice of local groups. Such a changing climate suggests greater tolerance toward efforts of minority ethnic groups to utilize their native languages in the curriculum of the school. For some groups this necessitates a redevelopment of competence in languages already partially lost.

The difficulties on the part of local school officers are compounded because of the lack of information available to them which accurately evaluates either the advantages and disadvantages of bilingual programs or the nature of the type of program which they might most reasonably develop in their school. Mackey has been most helpful to the educator of bilingual children with his preparation of a typology of bilingual education.[2]

The term "bilingual education" means many things, and in any discussion of educators it is very apt to mean something different to different members of a single group. Mackey illustrates:

> Schools in the United Kingdom where half the school subjects are taught in English are called bilingual schools. Schools in Canada in which all subjects are taught in English to French-Canadian children are called bilingual schools. Schools in the Soviet Union in which all subjects except Russian are taught in English are bilingual schools, as are schools in which some of the subjects are taught in Georgian and the rest in Russian. Schools in the United States where English is taught as a second language are called bilingual schools, as are parochial schools and even week-end ethnic schools.[3]

Mackey's typology is based on criteria found in the pattern of distribution of the languages: (a) the behavior of the bilingual at home, (b) the school curriculum, (c) the community in which the school is located, and (d) the status of the languages used.

The behavior of the learner at home is based on one of these patterns:

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[1]Arnold H. Leibowitz, Educational Policy and Political Acceptance: The Imposition of English as the Language of Instruction in American Schools (Washington, D.C.: ERIC Clearinghouse for Linguisitics, 1971).

[2]William F. Mackey, "A Typology of Bilingual Education" (unpublished paper prepared for a research conference on bilingual education under the auspices of the U.S. Office of Education, Bureau of Research, 1969).

[3]Ibid., p. 2.

1. Unilingual home: Language is not the school language;
2. Bilingual home: Languages include one school language;
3. Bilingual home: Languages do not include the school language; or
4. Bilingual home: Languages include both school languages.

Medium of instruction in the school curriculum may follow either:

1. Single medium school: Children with different home language; or
2. Dual medium school: Some subjects taught in one language, other subjects taught in another.

Development of language in the school curriculum will follow either:

1. The transfer pattern to convert from one language to another, or
2. The maintenance pattern to maintain both languages equally.

Direction of language development in the school curriculum will follow either:

1. Acculturation of child toward language of the wider culture, or
2. Strengthening of regional language for anticipated political changes (irredental).

Distribution of language in the school curriculum may include:

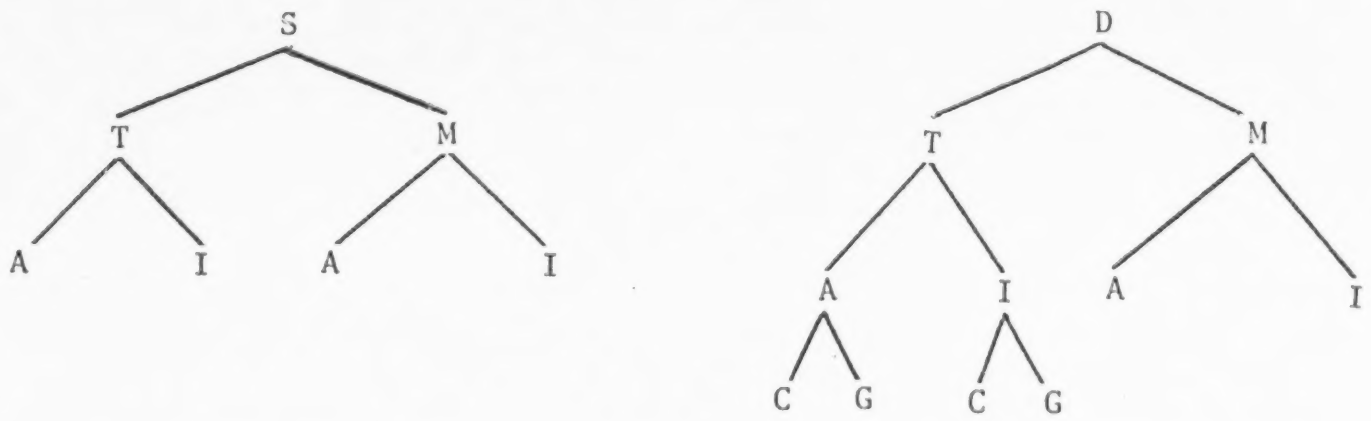
1. Teaching different subjects in each language, or
2. Equally alternating or repeating instruction from one language to another.

Change in language instruction in school curriculum may be designed so that:

1. Change may be complete in one year from one language to another, or
2. Change may be gradual over several years from one to the other. (See Figure I.)

FIGURE I

Curriculum Patterns



The distinctions between single (S) and dual (D) medium schools, accultural (A) and irredental (I), transfer (T) and maintenance (M), and complete (C) and gradual (G) change generate ten possible types of curriculum patterns.

As defined by the Bilingual Education Act, 1967, bilingual instruction is the use of two languages, one of which is English, as media of instruction in the school. Under this definition, there are two major types of programs.

In elementary schools the program is meant to be a "bridge" for the non-English speaking child to learn English so that he can then complete the entire course of study in English. He is taught concepts and continues learning in his vernacular only while he is being taught English. This has also been called "compensatory" in that it provides for the necessary transfer to English. We do not accept this program unless some provision is made for a continuation of the second language for at least some part of the school day. The danger is that the inflexible middle-class oriented school is really only extending one more enticement to the child to get him into an educational system that can eventually obliterate his language and culture instead of permitting him to retain his cultural pluralism that he surely prefers.

The second type of bilingual program demands instruction in two media throughout the school program because the bicultural-bilingual (multicultural-multilingual) course of study is a good thing in itself. It is geared to teach the new generation that there is inherent value in understanding and preserving the diverse national heritage. In this program, Spanish-speaking students, for example, will finish the elementary school completely literate in both languages: Spanish and English. For the Navajo, without sufficient library materials to accomplish such a task, there is still provision in the course of study for communication and discussion of all kinds of concepts in Navajo throughout the student's school life.

Current evidence strongly supports the idea that bilingualism will be more successfully implemented in society if it is begun very early in the child's life.

How Does the Bilingual Education Program Start?

Before the administrators in public schools can develop strong bilingual programs, they need professional help in three ways: (1) selection and development of personnel; (2) preparation of, or acquisition of, adequate teaching materials; and (3) strong community acceptance and support of such a program.

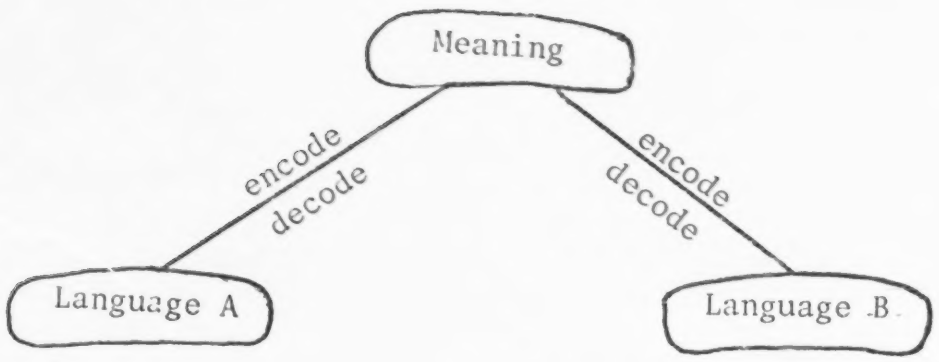
Of many programs put in operation since 1967, public schools have chosen to start operation in kindergarten and first grade the first year, progress to second grade the second year, and in this manner progress through the elementary school in 6 years until such time as all children through sixth grade will be participating in a course of study taught in two languages. Many of these programs provide that about half of the time is spent in the child's vernacular and half is spent in English.

It is also true that many programs developed since 1967 have utilized teachers who speak the vernacular natively in one classroom during the morning and in another classroom during the afternoon. The teacher who provides a good model in English teaches in these same two rooms during opposite half days.

After children demonstrate competence in both languages, they are taught different subjects in each of the languages. With competence in both languages, there is no need to teach the same units of work in both languages. Such teaching is impossible to motivate and leads to inattention and boredom and children "tuning out" for explanations they already understand.

The desired end product in a bilingual program is the coordinate bilingual. A coordinate bilingual readily extracts meaning in either language through his encoding-decoding process for that language. Saville and Troike[4] illustrate the process in Figure II.

FIGURE II
Coordinate Bilingual



This use of two languages may be contrasted with being a compound bilingual. The compound bilingual does his thinking in his native language and then rapidly translates his thoughts into the second language. Likewise, his mind receives the meaning from the second language in the same way. He must translate what he hears into his native language in order to get its meaning. Saville and Troike[5] illustrate the compound bilingual thought process in Figure III.

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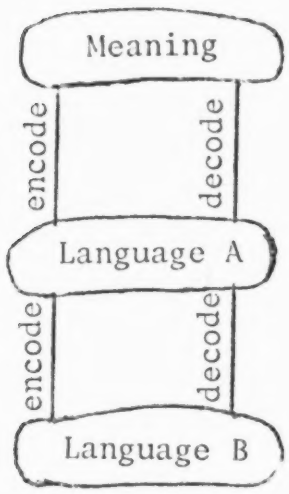
[4]Muriel R. Saville and Rudolph C. Troike, A Handbook of Bilingual Education (Washington, D.C.: ERIC Clearinghouse for Linguistics, April 1970), p. 15.

[5]Ibid., p. 15.

FIGURE III

Compound Bilingual



While coordinate and compound bilinguals represent two very distinct ways of thinking about language mastery, many people are probably not completely of either classification. It is hoped that young children might more easily become coordinate bilinguals with appropriate school instruction. Perhaps most teachers and other adults learning a second language will have to accept the fact that they may always be described as compound.

Unilingual, Bilingual, Trilingual. Using two or more languages is a widespread linguistic phenomenon. Canada and many nations of Europe are multiethnic and, therefore, multilingual. Switzerland conducts its cultural affairs in three official languages; the people communicate in four. Nations in Africa, Asia, and Latin America teach their children two or more languages. The choice is determined by utilitarian considerations, nationalism, or the search for a comfortable bicultural identity.

The American people, "a nation of immigrants," have brought from many different countries a rich cultural heritage. Why, then, do most of the schools function in a completely unilingual environment? This is unfortunate, especially since for many children English is a second language and constitutes a weaker medium of learning.

However, there is encouraging evidence that the heat under the melting pot is being reduced. A growing realization prevails that languages other than English number among the nation's vital resources. It is well known that language serves as a vehicle to communicate mutual understanding. In a world where seven-eighths of the population speak languages other than English, valuing the child's native language or preparing him to communicate with members of other cultures should be prime goals of today's education.

Lambert notes that the child who learns another language may have the advantage of facing life with an open, receptive mind.[6] He may be more sensitive to the complex concept that differences between cultures are not clearcut contrasts: good versus bad. Instead, the child is alert to the reality that basic universal values are expressed through many cultural patterns. Divergent modes of behavior form the woof in the prized design of cultural pluralism.

The word "bilingual" is used very loosely wherever children in school must use a second language as the language of instruction regardless of their knowledge of it. This includes all the boys and girls who come to the English-speaking school but, up to school entrance, have never used English as a means of communication at all.

Rather than the true meaning of "bilingual" as one speaking in two tongues, the term is generally used to mean any person who is attempting to function in a two-language environment. This has been true for school children who could only say *hello*, *thank you*, and *good-by* in the second language which is the language of the school.

In the Southwest, children are spoken of as bilinguals if they speak an Indian tongue or Spanish until they enroll in school where English is the medium of instruction. Naturally, these children are not *bi*-lingual by any stretch of the imagination. In the past, they have been given systematic instruction in the learning of a second language so they have had little opportunity to become bilingual.

Were the school to take advantage of the language that the child already knows as well as to make him efficient in the language of the school, he would then be truly bilingual. With the needs around the world so great as they are today for peoples to be able to communicate across the language barrier, it seems extremely foolish that in the United States the child who brings a language other than English to school has consistently been asked to forget it!

Ramirez underscores the importance of community acceptance and support:

> [There is] active parent involvement. Parent participation is particularly indispensable in bilingual programs, for in most Chicano communities parents have considerable knowledge of language and heritage. Parents should be remunerated to serve as language and history teachers, both at home and at school, and curriculum should be developed in such a way that parents can teach portions of it to their children at home. The Mexican American parent will support

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[6]Wallace Lambert, "Psychological Approaches to the Study of Language. Part II: On Second Language Learning and Bilingualism," Modern Language Journal, 47:114-21; 1963.

the goals and values of the school when the school begins to recognize the worth of his culture and realize that he can make unique contributions to the educational process.[7]

The bilingual program should be promoting cultural diversity and the positive values of being bicultural:

> In the final analysis, the crucial difference between the melting pot and cultural democracy philosophies of education comes down to this: The melting pot philosophy emphasizes that the child must change to fit the educational system; the cultural democracy philosophy, in turn, states that the institution must change to fit the child.
>
> This does not imply that the Chicano child will never become identified with Anglo values and Anglo life-styles; it merely states that he should not have to do it at the expense of his identify with his ethnic group. He should be given the opportunity to select the best from both cultures. The Mexican American of the future is a bicultural person who defies the prediction that a person cannot be comfortably identified with two cultures at the same time. He is cultural democracy in action.[8]

The results of the first year of the bilingual program at an elementary school in Albuquerque are most encouraging:

> The students in this school came from predominantly Spanish-speaking homes rich in a cultural heritage yet lacking in luxuries. A total of 350 children in grades K-3 participated in the project, which included teacher aides, a three-track curriculum for children speaking Spanish, English, or a little of both, and the Human Development Program. For evaluation, the project was compared with a traditional non-bilingual program in a school with a similar student population.
>
> Evaluation of the project showed Coronado's kindergarten children made an average gain of over 10 points in IQ and over 17 in mental age during the year. First graders gained almost 12 IQ points and 19 in mental age. There were significantly higher scores at Coronado in performance, awareness, mastery, social interaction, self-esteem, peer relations, teacher relations, and enjoyment of school at all grade levels. Two scholastic areas also benefitted sharply: Oral competency and Spanish performance averaged almost 50 percent higher in the kindergarten and first grades.[9]

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[7]Manual Remirez III, "Cultural Democracy: A New Philosophy for Educating the Mexican American Child," The National Elementary School Principal, 50:46; November 1970.

[8]Ibid., p. 46.

[9]Uvaldo Palomares, "Communication Begins with Attitude," The National Elementary Principal, 50:49; November 1970.

In his introduction to Malherbe's book, T. J. Haarhoff says:

> There is general agreement all over the educational world that the child should begin his education in his mother tongue or . . . the language he most easily understands.[10]
>
> . . . we are not producing bilingual school children and we never shall, as long as the second language is *not* used as an instrument of expression *and not* merely as a subject to be learned for an examination. In other words, the second language must be used as a medium in the school.[11]

Bilingual students must be recognized as advantaged rather than disadvantaged.

Which Language?

If the language of the home is not the language of the school, it is highly desirable to maintain this native language. Similarly, when the child brings to the school two different linguistic systems, however limited these may be, both should be maintained and improved. The dominant language is preferred when a child comes from a bilingual home where neither language is English. The language to be used at school, in the beginning, must be the one in which the child best expresses himself.

The majority of the children will come to school speaking some dialect of English. Direct practical value will be derived if the language to be taught is selected on the basis of possible reinforcement in the community, the state, or the nation. In doing so, the new language will not be divorced from the lives of the people and become an empty shell, totally irrelevant and useless.[12] The new language should also afford the learner a measure of self-fulfillment and achievement.[13] It should reinforce and strengthen the ties between the home and the school. The new language might be directed toward a learning sequence that will open career advantages. Young children must not wait until they are adults to learn another language; it takes years of practice to habituate its sound system. If children learn another language, they are helping to conserve the stock of linguistic resources the nation possesses, and this is important both as a value and as an investment.

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[10] E. G. Malherbe, The Bilingual School (Cape Town: Juta and Co., 1946), p. 8.

[11] Ibid., p. 5.

[12] Horacio Ulibarri, Bilingual Education: A Handbook for Educators (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, College of Education, 1970).

[13] Bruce A. Gaarder, "Statement Before the Special Subcommittee on Bilingual Education of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare," The Florida F. L. Reporter, 7:33-34; Spring-Summer 1969.

Spolsky and Holm have reviewed the present attempt to revive literacy in the Navajo language:

> Two factors are converging to support the newest attempts to develop literacy in Navajo. The first is the change in educational climate. There is growing evidence to support the notion that teaching reading is easier in a child's strongest language. Thus, it is possible to persuade educators that children should be taught to read in the vernacular. Evidence from such studies as Nancy Modiano's has convinced many educators that it is worth trying. With this sort of encouragement, the Bureau of Indian Affairs has been prepared to offer some degree of minimal support to two or three pilot programs. . . . Faced with a situation where so many children still speak Navajo, there are two main strategies: native language literacy, or effective standard language teaching. Some reading experts tend to feel the solution is standard language teaching: while many of us with language teaching background find native language literacy more promising. Presumably, this suggests neither of the techniques has yet been shown to be effective.
>
> The second factor is probably even more important, for it involves pressure from within the Navajo people rather than from outside. It is exemplified by the community school movement: there is increasing pressure for the Navajo communities to control their own schools. The examples of Rough Rock Demonstration School and now of the Ramah Community High School are applying pressure to the BIA and state school systems to pay much more attention to the wishes of the community. And the newly developed Dine BiOlta Association is starting to become a force in education on the Reservation. So far, these Navajo groups have stressed the importance of the Navajo language. The programs are new and undeveloped, but there is a firm commitment to the use of Navajo throughout the school, to the teaching of reading Navajo, and language maintenance.[14]

How To Teach Another Language. General guidelines serve as the framework from which to operate. From these, the teacher can derive the activities with the balance and emphasis relative to the performance level of the children.

The main components to consider in teaching any language are:

Experiences: The children's experiences are the elements of association which insure understanding of the concepts presented. Relevance of content is thus provided since these are concrete expressions of the child's culture. At first, the teacher capitalizes on these experiences as situations for oral expression in the new medium. New experiences acquired through a multi-sensory approach will later create exciting contexts for oral language development. The child will talk if he has something to say.

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[14] Bernard Spolsky and Wayne Holm, Literacy in Vernacular: The Case for Navajo. The Navajo Reading Study, Report No. 8. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, College of Education, March 1971), p. 14.

Vocabulary: Words are labels for concepts or for their function. By reinforcing known concepts and teaching concrete ones systematically, a meaningful vocabulary emerges. It has taken too long to find out that memorizing lists of words is not the way to teach a language.

Sentence patterns: The teacher's application of second-language pedagogy will help the child to develop automatic control and fluency in the use of the accurate and natural sentence patterns of the new language. Pattern practice can be provided through story content, rhymes, jingles, and songs.

Aural-oral techniques: Through hearing and speaking, precise production of the sounds, rhythm, and intonation of the new language are achieved. The imitation of a good speech model is the essence of this phase of the program.

Contrastive analysis: Comparing the phonology, the morphology, and the syntax of English and the new language will give the student depth in both languages.

Reading and writing: When the child has become proficient in hearing, speaking, and understanding the new language, he is ready to read the concepts he can verbalize. Writing about them will help to reinforce these concepts as well as to develop the skills necessary for this expressive art.[15]

Two Languages and Achievement in School. Many doubts beset those who ponder the values of teaching a language other than English in the elementary school. True, more research is needed but it is generally accepted that at an early age the child imitates easily, persistently, and with pleasure. Furthermore, the ability to produce new language sounds is a motor skill. As the child matures, the motor skills of his native language become ingrained habit patterns; new motor skills will become more difficult to produce.

Research findings which support decisions to teach two languages in the elementary schools are studies like one by Lambert in Canada.[16] Ten year-olds, with equal facility in two languages, were significantly superior to unilingual students on verbal and non-verbal intelligence tests. These students demonstrated more facility in concept development tasks, greater mental flexibility, and a wider range of mental abilities.

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[15]Mari Luci Ulibrarri, Cultural Differences Revealed Through Language (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, College of Education, Minority Group Cultural Awareness Center, 1970); Mari Luci Ulibarri, Pensamientos Sobre Teaching English As a Second Language (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, College of Education, Minority Group Cultural Awareness Center, 1969); Miles V. Zintz, What Classroom Teachers Should Know About Bilingual Education (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, College of Education, 1969).

[16]Wallace Lambert, op. cit., p. 114-21.

Directors of the Dade County bilingual program stress that the English-speakers learning Spanish compare favorably in all subject areas with their peers who are not in this type of a program, and in addition, these students communicate in Spanish with near-native accent and fluency.[17]

Another study is concerned with students in a mountain village of Mexico.[18] Modiano of New York University showed that when students read first in the native Indian dialect, they later read in the language of the school (Spanish) with a greater degree of comprehension. Related to this, but in reverse, some Title VII bilingual programs (Albuquerque, Grants in New Mexico) report that children's enthusiasm for reading in English is greater when initial reading experiences are conducted in Spanish, the children's native language. The consistency of the Spanish sound system may provide built-in success elements that may motivate the child to approach the difficult task of reading in English with a more positive attitude.

The School, the Teacher, the Parent

Learning two languages will prove a rewarding experience only if the school and the community organize and mutally support the program. Together they must decide whether the new language will merely serve as a bridge to improve the language of the school or if it will be maintained, extended, and enriched. Together they must find answers to difficult questions. Will 50 percent of the instruction be in the new medium and equal time in the language of the school? Will the students only learn to hear and speak the new language or will they complete the sequence by learning to read it and write it? Will the children study *about* the language or will they study *in* it (concepts)?

Clearly, the chilren's welfare and language learning principles will help the school, the teachers, and the parents to make wise decisions.

Bilingual programs succeed when qualified teachers are flexible, innovative, and resourceful. Enthusiasm, a positive attitude, and willingness to experiment and evaluate will also prove useful. But this is not enough. The teacher is the model. For this role the fluency of a native speaker of the new language is most desirable. Qualified native speakers are to be preferred. They have internalized the regional use of certain words and concepts, a knowledge of the sound system of English and the new language, of second-language pedagogy, and cross-cultural education. This will add to the teacher's capacity for success and professional security. Again, it is imperative that the teacher understand the culture which the language represents. Without these requisites, frustration will be difficult to avoid.

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[17]Mabel Richardson, "An Evaluation of Certain Aspects of the Academic Achievement of Elementary Pupils in a Bilingual Program: A Project" (unpublished Doctor's dissertation, University of Miami, 1968).

[18]Nancy Modiano, "National or Mother Language in Beginning Reading: A Comparative Study," Research in Teaching of English, 32-43; 1968.

Direct involvement of the parents in all phases of the program is another essential ingredient. Parents represent the cultural reinforcing agents. They make language learning permanent. They live the values of the culture manifested through the language; parents are willing to share them with the school.

The concerted efforts of all will contribute to the final test in learning any language: *Can the child speak it?*

TEACHER EDUCATION FOR A MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY

At the present time, the colleges and universities are doing little or nothing to prepare teachers for the challenges awaiting them as teachers where culturally and linguistically different or economically deprived children are enrolled. Teacher training institutions must establish programs for the specific purposes of enabling teachers to teach for a multicultural society and to meet the needs of children in the *barrios*. The purpose of this chapter is to describe the type of program this might be.

A Point of View

There are a number of basic issues to be considered in developing a philosophy of teaching to promote a multicultural society:

1. Education for a multicultural society must be broader than the curriculum that might be planned for any limited definition of the term "bilingual education."
2. Education for a multicultural society must delineate the differences in people associated with poverty and lower social-class membership and those associated with cultural differences and value systems in conflict with the middle-class school.
3. Education for a multicultural society requires that all teachers know more about the nature of their own language as a means of communication and its similarities and differences with languages of other people.
4. Education for a multicultural society must give directed emphasis to intergroup, intercultural acceptance through an understanding of values and beliefs. This is the only counteragent for ethnocentrism. Teachers, as many other adults, have reacted to ethnicity, color, modes of dress (especially torn or dirty clothing), in stereotyped ways that have been very damaging to self-concepts of children. The results are perhaps more vicious when teachers react in this way because children are a captive audience and cannot escape their environment. The elimination of these prejudices of teachers through greater awareness is basic to education of all children.

The needed emphasis on the education of minority group children must be broader than implied in the term "bilingual education." This label is apt to suggest no more than learning a second language and to fail to provide the necessary larger framework in which the language takes on meaning. We need to insure proper concerns for understanding the cultural heritage and value system and the economic, political, and social factors.

With minority groups who enter the dominant society with economic disadvantages, teachers may overemphasize poverty and lower social-class membership by stereotyping them as part of the cultural difference. It seems clear that on the one hand there are the cultural practices, the body of folklore and the values transmitted from the elders, and on the other hand, there are living habits forced upon members of a social group because of poverty or economic deprivation.

Most teachers in the public schools do not have adequate knowledge of the nature of language and how it is learned. We have been able to teach the native speaker with his intuitive knowledge of his own system

of grammar without an undue amount of damage to him as a person. However, when we consider the importance of communication for native speakers, this trial-and-error method is most inadequate. For those children who speak a non-standard dialect or a second language, the obstacles to efficient learning are formidable when the teacher does not know the only language they speak.

The elementary teacher needs to know the phonology of the language in order to teach children auditory discrimination skills for recognizing words; he needs to know the syntax of the language in order to understand the role of the sentence in grasping meaning in reading; he needs to know something of the contrasts in the language of the child and his own in order not to confuse and distress the child who must learn English as a second language.

Emphasis on intercultural acceptance between and among all groups is badly needed if we expect to enable the new generation to reduce ethnocentrism and to see and understand the world through the eyes of other people. The cognitive learning about the contributions of each others' cultures is only the first step. Acceptance, as a value, must pass beyond mere toleration of others and provide for characterization or internalization of such an affective value. Only in this way do we finally arrive at the stage of working and living together without the obstacles of scapegoating, stereotyping, discrimination, and prejudice that prevent effective human interrelationships.

Dr. John Bryde, after 22 years at the Holy Rosary Mission School at Pine Ridge, South Dakota, has concluded that:

> In Indian education, therefore, the students should be educated first of all in their own value system, in order that these values, operating at the unconscious level until examined, can be brought to the conscious level to enable them to understand their behavior and to be able to utilize these values for motivation for self fulfillment, first of all within his cultural context, and then within that of the larger society.
>
> What has been said so far does not mean that these Indian cultural courses should be the total content of the Indian school curriculum, or that the non-Indian American school curriculum should not be taught at all. Since the Indian needs much of the curriculum content of the non-Indian American school system as necessary tools to live in the modern world, he should be taught as much of the non-Indian American school curriculum as is pertinent to his needs in facing the modern world. What is recommended is that the non-Indian American School curriculum be based on the Indian courses as (a) the pedagogically logical starting point of beginning with the student where he is, and (b) the psychologically motivational source for his bi-cultural adjustment.
>
> In cross-cultural education this means that the goals and cultural needs fulfillment should be initially and primarily in the context and norms of the culture being educated and not in that of the dominant culture that is doing the educating. The reason for this is that the

system of rewards and punishments--or motivating factors--in one culture is not necessarily the system of rewards and punishments, or motivating factors, in another culture.[1]

A recent review of work dealing with inner-city children identified three major differences between the lower-class child and the middle-class child with reference to cognitive development.

> . . . it is already clear that in the very early months and years of a child's life the development of his cognitive processes is significantly affected by the quality of his environmental experiences. But what are the factors that make the difference? Assume that an infant enjoys a decent stability on the affective side of his life--that he is loved and nurtured in ways that make for basic trust, happiness, self-esteem, and freedom from undue anxiety; what, then, are the ingredients essential to cognitive growth?
>
> Speaking very broadly, one major essential seems to be stimulation. The child's environment ought to be interesting; there need to be people to watch, to communicate with, to play with. There need to be things to feel and manipulate (and chew!). There must be variety and challenge, too--problems to solve that involve some "stretch," for even a baby can quickly grow bored, fall into routine habituation, and get stuck at one level of development. . . .
>
> . . . . . .
>
> A second major ingredient, probably increasing in importance as the infant grows older, appears to be full and well-articulated verbalization. This more than the development of a large vocabulary--though that is important. What is involved is a system of symbolization. This includes abstractions as well as the names of concrete things; and it includes a coherent though simple logic (based on perceptions of relationships, of cause and effect, etc.).
>
> A third ingredient may well take the form of a kind of sensory sharpening. Perhaps this is nothing but the first and second put together; that is, having a rich variety of experiences. At any rate, it is evident that even small children can be aided to hear words accurately, to discriminate more finely in all the sensory modalities (touch, and smell as well as sight and hearing), and just to notice more of their environment and react to it more vividly.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> . . . it is worth noting that the "essential ingredients" just described virtually constitute a definition of the difference between the worse homes and the better ones. Obviously, great gains would be made if we could somehow bring the less nurtural families closer

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[1]John Bryde, "A New Approach to Indian Education" (Vermillion: University of South Dakota, College of Education) (Mimeographed).

to the existing practices of the better ones. One cannot help wondering whether intuitive practices of the more nurtured parents could not be still further improved on the basis of research.[2]

Educational programs for children from minority groups must make special provision for their learning needs whenever their entry behaviors indicate that:

1. They need special help and consideration in learning English as a second language to develop near native-speaking abilities like their peers;
2. They need systematically planned language readiness programs designed to overcome the cumulative deprivation and handicap of previous years;
3. The usual array of materials, audiovisual aids, media, magazines, newspapers, field trips, dramatizations, concerts, community events, musicals, art exhibits, and other activities may suffice--if the teacher understands the competencies of the students and teaches to meet their individual needs;
4. They need special provision for strengthening or rehabilitating the self-concept, through learning many ways of self-direction and gaining self-confidence; and
5. They must be made to feel that the school culture does respect and accepts the culture they bring to school.

For those children who live in economically deprived areas, the teacher may expect that:

1. They will, on the average, respond slowly to cognitive tasks;
2. They may exhibit a somewhat anti-intellectual, pragmatic approach to school life;
3. They may already feel alienated from the larger social structure and the narrow inflexible life style of traditional schools;
4. They will likely be deficient in attention span, reading skills, and interpretative skills used in the typical classroom; and
5. They will likely have had little experience in receiving approval or praise for success in any task.

Mimimum Essential Education for the Classroom Teacher in a Multicultural Classroom

While many undergraduate teacher training programs need to be restructured to provide teachers with the basic knowledge, skills, and understandings, in this monograph we are attempting to outline the additional necessary skills for teachers to cope with the problems of education across the cultures. We assume that all teachers know something of learning theory, reinforcement of learning, principles of child growth and development, and the modern concepts in school management to provide for individualized learning for all children.

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[2]Fred T. Wilhelms, "The Influence of Environment and Education," The Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary School Principals, 53:13-15; April 1969.

These additional skills are both cognitive and affective. Unless the teacher "feels" the commitment to adjust his behavior in terms of what he knows, the cognitive factors alone will not be sufficient. The teacher needs to know:

1. The cultural history of the represented ethnic group . . . lifeways, values, social structure, applied anthropology, cultural roles, social-class stratification, living habits in the family;
2. The nature of language and how it is learned . . . problems rooted in psycholinguistics and those in sociolinguistics;
3. The comparison of (contrastive analysis) the vernacular and the language of the school; and
4. The processes of cultural and social change in the school community.

In summary, it is important that the teacher include in his preparation such courses as applied anthropology, education across cultures, peasant cultures, social change, the community school, interaction with parents; such courses as linguistics, phonetics and phonemics, and contrastive analysis; and such courses as teaching English to speakers of other languages, bilingual education seminars, and practice in teaching in multiethnic classrooms or in schools in the *barrio*.

Logan lists the following criteria for selection of teachers in the bilingual elementary schools in Dade County:

> Some of the criteria the committee used to guide them in selecting teachers for the school were these:
>
> Teachers, preferably perfectly bilingual, should teach in their native tongues.
>
> They should themselves be bicultural as well as keenly interested in bilingual education.
>
> They should have demonstrated an unusual competence in working with team members and aides in a climate of kindness, patience, and understanding.
>
> They should have a linguistics and language structures background and be willing to undertake additional advanced training in this area.
>
> They should be anxious to further the study of their second language.
>
> They should be especially creative in designing and using a variety of visual aids.
>
> They should possess proven power to maintain poise while being observed by frequent vistors and, furthermore, to communicate to them as well as to skeptical parents the philosophy of a bilingual school.[3]

Gonzalez emphasizes the importance of cultural diversity as a national value in public education:

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[3]J. Lee Logan, "One Will Do But We Like Two: The Coral Way Bilingual Pilot Project," The National Elementary Principal, 50:86; November 1970.

Finally, it is the task of the federal government, through the schools, to educate children, all children. It is unwise and unfair to treat a child as handicapped because he speaks little or no English. Instead, he should--indeed must--be treated like anyone else. Like anyone else, such a child goes to school to develop the assets he already possesses, and to be given those he lacks. His language is an asset. If the school fails to develop that asset, the school fails him and he has every right to feel cheated. In his case, the job of the school is to perfect the language he already has, and to add the language he needs.

The strength of this nation is in its diversity--its diversity of resources and its diversity of people. Schools must not destroy that diversity; instead they must bring out its fullness and strength. Bilingual education is one way that this can be done. The start made possible by a few pioneers and the Bilingual Education Act must now be extended to its farthest limits, lest yet another generation be lost.[4]

Mondale points out the psychological value to the child in valuing his language and his culture:

The needs and problems of the non-English-speaking student may be as much or more psychological than linguistic. A truly effective program of bilingual education should encompass systematic curricular coverage of the history and heritage of the people whose language is being studied. In the case of Mexican Americans, for example, the contributions of the Indo-Hispanic tradition to the development of the United States should be an integral part of school curricula in the Southwest. In fact, such inclusions often are as important for the student's affective development as the use of the Spanish language is for developing his cognitive skills.[5]

Mondale continues and cites Gaarder's statement about the illogical way many schools program a child in his classes:

We must build upon the cultural strengths the child brings into the classroom. We must give that child the sense of personal identification so essential to his social maturation and so essential to his growth in learning.

This is what the Bilingual Education Act should be doing. Not much of this, however, can be accomplished under present funding levels. Bruce Gaarder, former Chief of the U.S. Office of Education's Modern Language Section and an expert in bilingual education, aptly expressed the frustration he felt during the hearings of a Special Subcommittee on Bilingual Education:

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[4]Henry B. Gonzalez, "Education of the Spanish Speaking: The Role of the Federal Government," The National Elementary Principal, 50:121; November 1970.

[5]Ibid., p. 117.

"We spend, and I believe I could document it rather easily, at least a billion dollars a year on foreign language instruction at all levels. Yet virtually no part of it, no cent, ever goes to maintain and further develop the native language competence which already exists in American children. It is as if one said it is all right to learn a foreign language if you start so late that you really cannot master it. It is all right for headwaiters, professional performers, and the rich to know foreign languages. But any child in school who already knows one is suspect. It is more than an anomaly. It is an absurdity that, as they say, passeth understanding."[6]

Ulibarri designed a program of inservice education in a small school community in which Indian, Spanish-American and Anglo students were enrolled. Her primary goal was to help teachers move from the inflexible monolithic curriculum to one in which all three cultures would make genuine contributions. The success of such a plan would develop an educational pluralism to match the cultural diversity of the community. Figure I depicts the model[7] for such a program of education for cultural change and the explanation of the work done with the school personnel in each phase.

Phase 1 - Awareness. Phase 1 deals with awareness. It is presumed that school authorities must first be made aware that different cultures are in evidence all over the nation, but in particular in the Spanish-speaking Southwest.

Section 1 - Self Needs. In Section 1 of Phase 1, the school staff participating in the application of the model are divided into groups of 10 to 12 persons. These groups should be representative of all the participants. The groups meet for eight or ten times with each session lasting from four to six hours. A skilled discussion leader is vitally needed to guarantee that the group covers the necessary issues to meet their individual self needs. This leader guarantees fair play as the groups begin to speak about insecurities, apathy, complacency, narrow commitment, tradition, personal prejudices, and other factors which must be dealt with before one can effectively begin to accept the concept of cultural pluralism in his school job. Once the group has covered all of the factors which tend to impede each individual's openness, or once the participants have discovered and dealt with their self needs, the groups are dissolved and the participants can move into Section 2 of Phase 1. This is usually a month after the application of the model. Readings may and should be assigned and provided to the participants. The works of Zintz, Havighurst, Madsen, Sanchez, Ulibarri, Hall, and Zamora are some which are available.

Section 2 - Cultural Diversity. Section 2 has the entire group of participants meeting together again. For this section the school district

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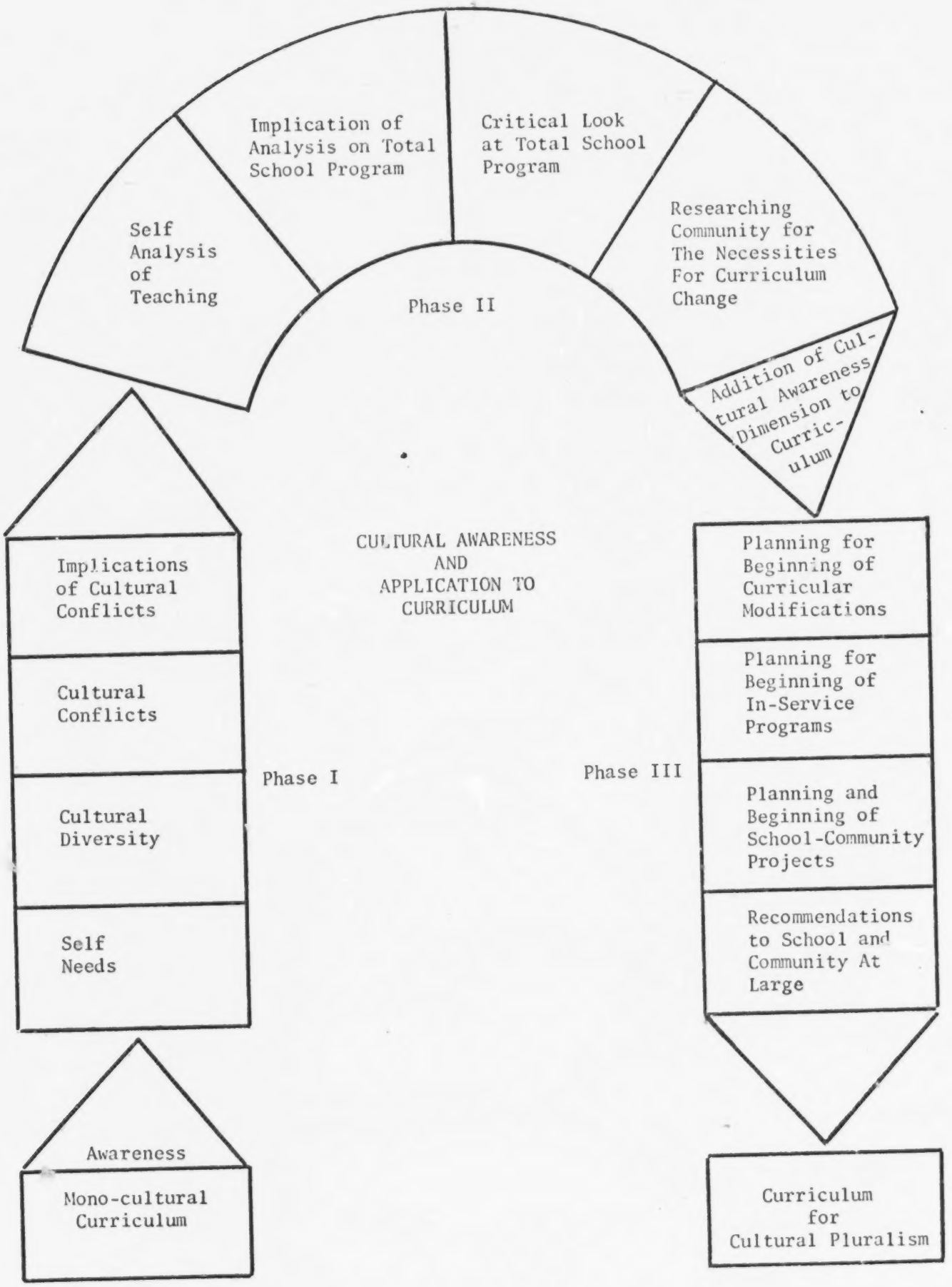
[6]Ibid., p. 118.

[7]Mari Luci Ulibarri, "In-Service Teacher Education in a Tri-Ethnic Community: A Participant Observer Study" (unpublished Doctor's dissertation, University of New Mexico, 1970).

FIGURE I

THE ESPERANZA MODEL


Self Analysis of Teaching
Implication of Analysis on Total School Program
Critical Look at Total School Program
Researching Community for The Necessities For Curriculum Change
Addition of Cultural Awareness Dimension to Curriculum
Phase II
CULTURAL AWARENESS AND APPLICATION TO CURRICULUM
Implications of Cultural Conflicts
Cultural Conflicts
Cultural Diversity
Self Needs
Phase I
Awareness
Mono-cultural Curriculum
Planning for Beginning of Curricular Modifications
Planning for Beginning of In-Service Programs
Planning and Beginning of School-Community Projects
Recommendations to School and Community At Large
Phase III
Curriculum for Cultural Pluralism

must provide speakers who are knowledgeable about the cultural groups represented in the school district. Lectures are presented to the entire group and are followed by small group discussions. The lecturer or consultants are available to each group for questions, elaborations, or clarifications. These lecture sessions vary in number depending on the number of different cultures represented in the community. If the community is limited to Mexican and Anglo-Americans, four to six lectures about each group may suffice. If the community has more cultural groups, the time and lectures must be expanded. At the conclusion of this activity, the group should understand what exists in its community as well as what each culture represents.

Section 3 - Cultural Conflicts. Section 3 of Phase 1 is conducted as the previous section, perhaps even using the same consultants. However, the focal point here is on the identification of conflicts between cultures. Consultants speak on conflicts between and among perceptions stemming from cultural practices. For instance, do they view things such as the school, the family, language, and ethics differently? Once having identified these the participants are now ready to proceed to the next step.

Section 4 - Implication of Cultural Conflict Section 4 of Phase 1 uses the same procedures focusing on where the cultures conflict, rather than identifying differences between the cultures.

At this point the "awareness" phase is completed. The participant has identified his own needs, he has been provided with content on cultures, and he has participated in identifying the cultures' conflicts and their implications on teaching.

Phase II - Application of Awareness. Phase II deals with the application of awareness.

Section 1 - Classification of Teacher's Style. In this section the teacher's identified style, as determined in the previous section, is analyzed in terms of the educational philosophy that style best lends itself to. We thus help the teacher analyze and identify to what school of learning theory he belongs.

Section 2 - Critical Look at the Total School Program of His/Her School District. At this point teachers are broken up into groups representative of the entire school system. Each group should include administrators and teachers of various grade levels, so that a total analysis of that entire district's program can be made using resources from all levels of the school. The teachers should now have a clear understanding of the entire scope and sequence of their particular school.

This section is to bring to bear on the school district the accumulated knowledge of the teacher in the areas of culture, cultural diversity, cultural conflict, the teacher's teaching style, and known learning theories. The school district's own program is critically analyzed in terms of the staff's acquired knowledge in the previous sections.

The staff is broken down into groups representative of all school levels. Each group should view the school district in its entirety, then be broken down into groups of areas of specialization. These areas are criticized by those people who are directly involved in that portion of the educational program. A list of strengths and shortcomings is now written by each group's area of specialization. The strengths are retained and activity begins toward correcting the shortcomings.

Section 3 - Survey of the Community of Available Human and Material Resources. This section is to correct the identified weaknesses in the curriculum. The teachers are divided into teams of two or three people of common academic and curricular interests. These people identify how they can survey the community to acquire the information of relevant and existing human and material resources. Then they got out into the community and do it. Their findings are now developed into teaching units to complement and enrich their respective subject matter areas. At this point the school district has a large volume of community and culturally relevant resources both human and material.

Phase III - Logistics for Implementation. This phase is largely self-explanatory. Each school administrator has acquired countless courses on how to work with curricular modifications, inservice programs, and school-community projects and how to make and acquire support for recommendations.

Gonzales has developed a curriculum model for teachers in the primary grades who are developing a course of study for a new bilingual program in which teaching will be done in both Spanish and English beginning in kindergarten. The model and a brief explanation of the model follow.

Modification of the Curriculum

Evidence cited points to an urgent need to seek creative approaches in curriculum improvement and/or modification.

Increasing the areas of study indiscriminately will have minimal effects in the crucial factors involved in quality education for minority groups: (a) psychomotor development, (b) language acquisition, and (c) cognitive and affective development.

Special techniques focusing on the child's experiences will lead to attaching language labels to these meaningful, concrete association elements. These, in turn, should constitute his first encounter with the written symbol. The ingredients for cognitive growth and for the development of a positive self-image are an integral part of this type of a language-based learning situation. John and others agree that "cognitive processes develop directly from the incidental learning of the structural aspects of language."[8] Three major levels of language

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[8]Vera John and M. Deutsch, "The Intellectual Development of Slum Children: Some Preliminary Findings," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 43:813-22; October 1963.

development, outlined by John are labeling observed phenomena, relating labels to understand a second concept (sand and box), and classifying or expanding labels and word groups into concepts.

It appears impossible to help children achieve their full potential with the present "text-book bound" curriculum. A creatively structured program with precise and delimited goals is a more feasible answer to our present dilemma. "Educators must understand that programs not activities bring the results we seek," says Cohen.[9]

A Curriculum Model. Organization of the learning experiences of children by levels rather than by grades is high on the list of priorities for modification of the curriculum. This enables us to implement theories we readily verbalize such as, "a child can learn if he is taught at his own level of development" and "if language acquisition and concept development are clusters of learned behaviors, they can be taught."

Most middle-class children come to school equipped with visual perception skills which have developed from a motor to a perceptual to a cognitive level.[10] These children are prepared, generally speaking, for the reading readiness program and, later, for reading.

The children with visual perception dysfunctions, and this includes many of the economically deprived, will require a program in visual perceptual training or a learning readiness program which includes these levels: psychosocial adjustment to school routine; physiological readiness or basic visual-motor training; and language-concept development.[11] (See Figure II.)

The reading readiness program (Level 4) which follows is based on a language experience emphasis with the goal of preparing children to read specific content. For specific suggestions in use of the language experience approach in initiating reading in Spanish, Dr. Dolores Gonzales has developed an 18-page teachers guide, *Leamos En Espanol* (University of New Mexico, College of Education, 1970).

The bilingual-bicultural pilot program at the Coronado Elementary School in Albuquerque has selected a model for its Spanish curriculum which is based on the universal themes of variety, change, interdependence, space, time, and equilibrium. (See Figure III.)

Concepts for each of the themes were drawn from the areas in science (the earth, living things, matter, energy, space, etc.); from social

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[9]S. Alan Cohen, Teach Them All To Read (New York: Random House, 1969), p. 102.

[10]Marianne Frosting and others, "A Development Test of Visual Perception for Evaluating Normal and Neurologically Handicapped Children," Perceptual and Motor Skills, 12:393-94; 1961.

[11]Cohen, op. cit., pp. 152-53.

FIGURE II

LEARNING READINESS MODEL

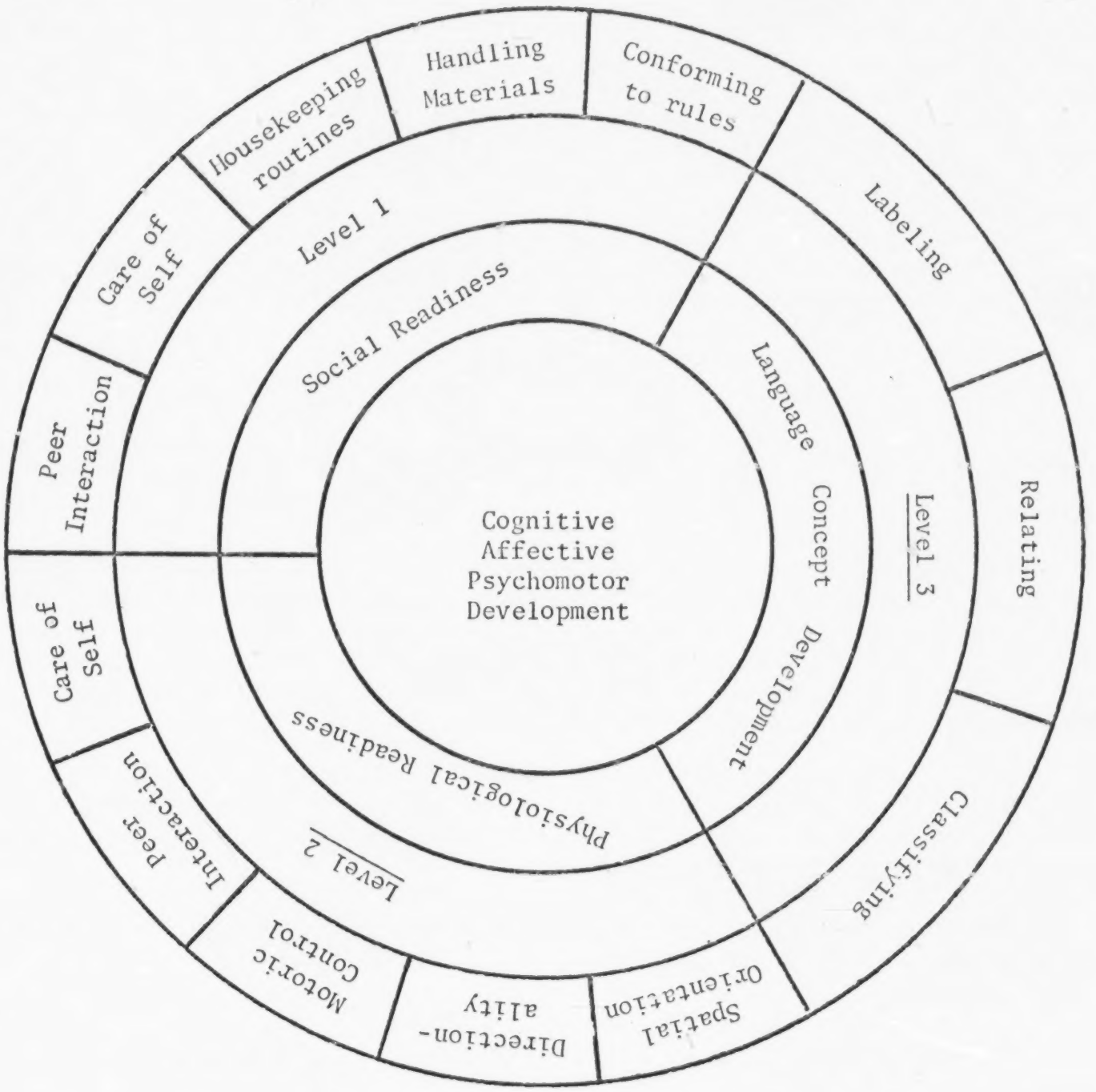
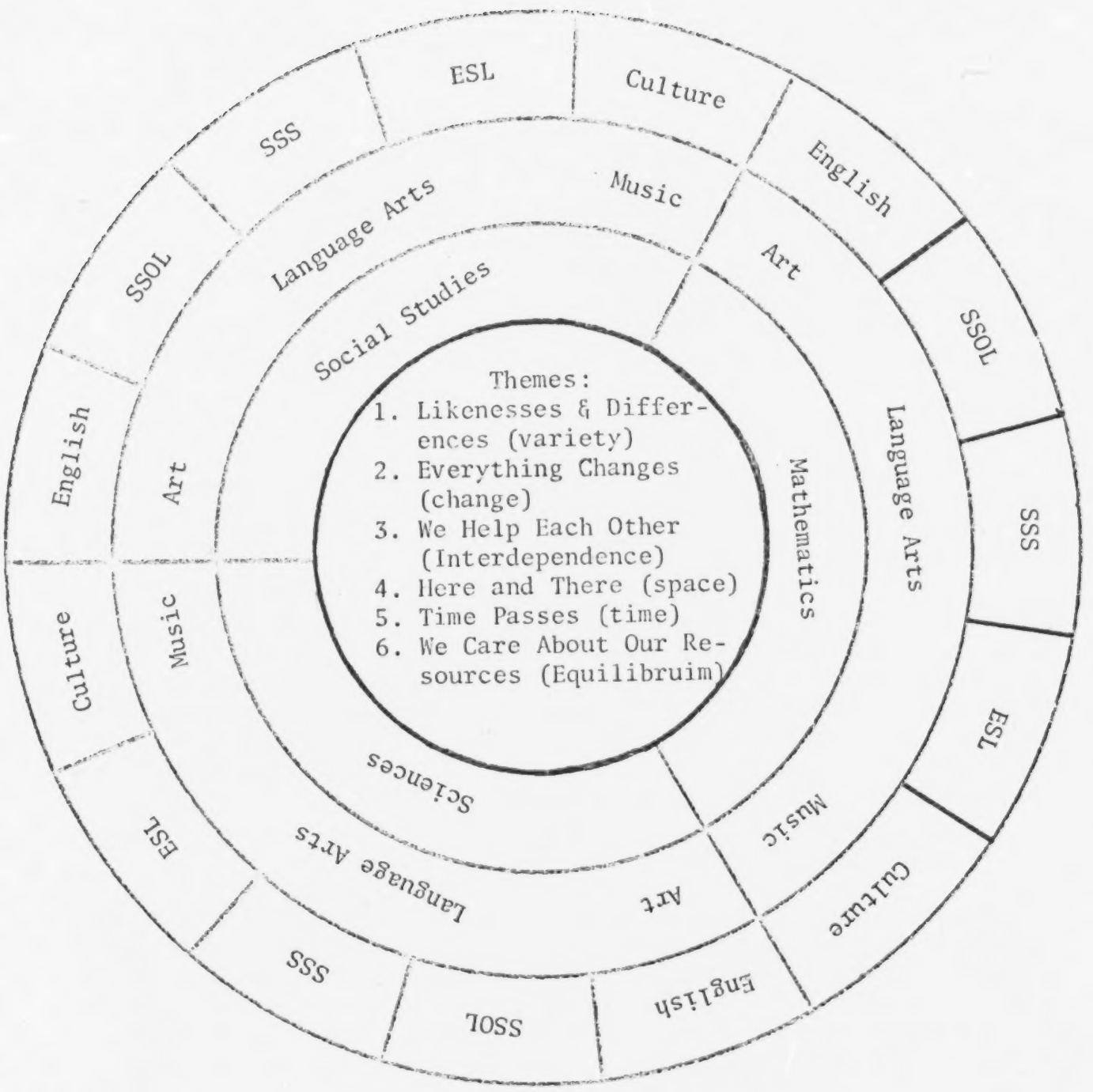


FIGURE III

CURRICULUM FOR BILINGUAL PROGRAM

Level 4



studies (history, geography, sociology, anthropology, political science, economics, philosophy); and from the areas of mathematics. These concepts constitute the content for oral language development. The concepts are taught through oral language activities, and these are subdivided into those designed to teach the concept and those directed toward the reinforcement of learning.

Additional suggestions are included for learning experiences to improve English as a second language (ESL), Spanish for Spanish-speakers (SSS), and Spanish for speakers of other languages (SSOL).

Music and art are the cultural dimensions designed to enrich and reinforce cultural patterns.

This same model will be expanded in Level 5 (initiation of formal reading), where the children will read about the concepts which they verbalized in Level 4. The complex of skills to be developed will be based on a hierarchy of thinking processes, Bloom's Taxonomy.

The models presented are attempts to structure programs to counterbalance the effects of the deficient teaching-learning syndrome in our schools. Using curriculum innovations as a tool in learning will enhance the teacher's role in multicultural education.

Summary

Multicultural education is a complex process of communication in its broadest sense. It involves people, their cultural patterns, and the expression of these in their language, as well as the learning of new skills and concepts in two languages.

Social groups are known to share distinctive sets of values, life styles, and behavior traits that set them apart from others. A language system is used by the adults of a social group to communicate these components of a culture to its children. The language thus becomes a vehicle for that enculturation. Therefore, to deny a group of people its language is to reject and suppress its unique way of life and to preclude its transmission to the youth. Consequently, a bilingual program without a cultural enrichment component is not a bilingual-bicultural program, nor is it a worthwhile goal as an educational endeavor.

The bilingual-bicultural program encompasses all the domains of the learning process. In the cognitive domain, the student should be guided to acquire concepts and skills two languages. In New Mexico, the aim is to give the child his opportunity to become literate in his vernacular and in English. All the skills of the language learning sequence should be developed, namely: listening, speaking, reading, and writing. Concepts in the subject matter areas should be taught, learned, and reinforced using two languages as media for learning. A program which teaches only English as a second language or Spanish to the monolingual English-speaker is not a bilingual-bicultural program.

In the affective domain, which deals with attitudes and feelings, a multicultural program should help the child attain a positive self-image

by giving his culture and its language the status, recognition, and respect which they merit. Both the Spanish-speaker and the native English-speaker learn to appreciate the values and contributions of each other's cultures and thereby help to achieve the understanding which our pluralistic society demands.

To the United States as a nation, a multicultural program offers avenues for the conservation of cultural and linguistic resources and fosters the democratic ideal: in diversity there is beauty, vigor, and harmony.

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